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From the Editor

This year, 1987, marks the one hundredth birthday of Esperanto. A hundred years ago Dr Zamenhof, a Polish oculist, set to work to construct a 'new' language, believing that improved communication between peoples of different nations must be one of the surest ways of establishing and maintaining peace in the world. Although Esperanto is probably the most durable of all constructed languages, its status now is hardly more than a linguistic curiosity, while the fortunes of the English language during the past century have been quite different.

Latin, Greek, Spanish and French have all served as international languages in their turn, but none has come anywhere near to rivaling English, in either the number of people who speak it, or the number of varieties and dialects that have evolved. In the sixteenth century English was the native-tongue of the six or seven million inhabitants of an island nation situated on the exposed, westerly flank of Europe. Today somewhere around one billion people (one in every five inhabitants of the planet) use English in some form.

Zamenhof and his co-workers could never have dreamed that English would come to enjoy the status of a world language, as it does today. It is perhaps surprising that until recently there has been little study of English as an international or world language.

In this edition, **Yukihiro Nakayama** contributes a short article outlining Larry Smith's contribution to the study of English as a world language and to the development of an appropriate taxonomy.

In the main articles section, **Takehiko Hattori** compares and contrasts eye-contact behaviour between Japanese and Americans. Believing that mutual eye behaviour is a powerful regulatory mechanism in personal interaction, and that different culturally determined patterns can result in misunderstanding between cultures, the author finds that while Japanese and Americans rely on eye-contact to gain feedback during con-

versation, they use it in different ways. The paper continues by reporting on a survey of the attitudes of bilingual, bicultural Japanese subjects towards different patterns of eye-contact, and ends with a plea for increased awareness of the importance of this aspect of nonverbal communication in human interaction.

Neville Saunders reports on a series of investigations into the sources of Japanese learner error in the use of the third person singular morpheme. From his examination of the grammatical, phonological and lexical environments of such errors, the writer finds that stability in production of the morpheme is greatly influenced by the length and complexity of the surrounding sentence, the phonetic environment, and by associated lexical items. Some pedagogical implications are presented in conclusion.

Tomoko Takahashi and **Leslie Beebe** investigate the extent of pragmatic transfer from students' mother tongue to target language. Their study appears to go beyond previous work in that transfer both in EFL and ESL contexts, as well as at differing levels of English proficiency, is examined. Pragmatic transfer is the transfer of mother-tongue communicative competence in carrying out speech acts to the target language. This study examines the ability of Japanese students to give written refusals in a variety of situations. Qualitative differences in student response are discussed, and evidence for positive transfer at all proficiency levels is presented.

This edition of your *Journal* embodies some changes. Main articles are now headed with abstracts in both Japanese and English, and a Short Article subsection has been established. A section devoted to Conference Proceedings is also making a first appearance. At last November's conference at Hamamatsu a call for publishable versions of presentations was directed to all presenters. The response was gratifying, and

the editors have tried to select contributions so that the diversity of subject area and style of presentation are reflected. We would like to thank all those presenters who did submit their work; this was much appreciated. A similar call for conference-related material will be circulated at this November's conference in Tokyo.

The editorial staff is seeking to give the *Journal* a gradual facelift, but this is proceeding slowly; further modifications are planned. Your reactions to the *Journal* format or to any of the contributions within these pages are most welcome.

A STUDY OF NONVERBAL INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION BETWEEN JAPANESE AND AMERICANS – FOCUSING ON THE USE OF THE EYES

Takahiko Hattori

Abstract

The main purpose of this study is to identify various characteristics in eye behavior between Japanese and Americans. There are many characteristics common to both cultures but there are also many differences between them. Japanese and Americans have different levels for acceptable amounts of eye contact and different rules for when it should occur. It seems desirable that both Japanese and Americans should acquaint themselves with important aspects of eye behavior in order to improve and promote intercultural understanding.

本論文の目的は日米間の視線情報伝達行動の特徴を明らかにすることである。人間はそれぞれが所属している文化によって視線行動が異なる。日本人の視線行動は日本文化を反映し、アメリカ人の視線行動はアメリカ文化を反映している。視線行動を考察することによって、よりよい異文化間コミュニケーションの方策を試みる。

Takahiko Hattori is full time lecturer, Dept. of English, Nihonbashi Jyogakukan Junior College. He also teaches English at Housei University and Tokyo Nougyou University. He graduated from Keio University and received his M.A. from Joetsu University of Education. Currently he is working on Ministry of Education junior high school and senior high school English textbooks.

Introduction

Many misunderstandings in intercultural communication between Japanese and American are due not only to linguistic problems, but also misunderstanding of nonverbal behavior patterns. Nonverbal messages are as important as verbal messages, for they tell us how verbal messages are to be interpreted; for example, nonverbal messages can indicate whether verbal messages are to be taken seriously, jokingly, or whether someone is lying.

A most promising start in studying nonverbal communication is to choose one important nonverbal area and to concentrate on understanding this special area. I have chosen the area of eye behavior. There are two reasons why I have chosen it. One is that "Eye behavior, alone, appears to be the most important regulator of personal interaction." (McCroskey and Wheeless, 1978). Another reason is that there are many differences in eye behavior between Japanese and Americans, and these can give rise to misunderstandings between the two cultures.

People should pay attention to and recognize the importance of eye behavior, and should also know that knowledge of culturally specific eye behavior helps to avoid misunderstanding between different cultures.

1. Japanese and American Eye Behavior

Eye behavior varies according to cultural background. Kanayama (1977) says that in Japanese culture, the amount of gaze is very slight during a conversation, especially when having a conversation with a superior, a Japanese looks slightly downward. Some Japanese even close their eyes when listening. Compared to the Japanese, Kanayama says that Americans think that it is insincere or a sign of weakness of character to avoid eye contact.

LePape (1980) analyzed Yasujiro Ozu's movies and reported that in Ozu's movies, people sit side by side when talking to each other and rarely hold a mutual gaze. He says that it is painful for a Japanese to have a constant gaze while talking, so the Japanese gaze moderately. If a Western person keeps on gazing during a conversation, a Japanese might feel uncomfortable. Concerning the direction of gaze in Japanese people, Sato (1977) says that mutual gaze means to see through each other's mind, and is one of the most basic ways to show mutual reliance. But the Japanese feel comfortable without a lot of eye contact and can maintain lively conversation while avoiding eye contact most of the time. Itami (1973) emphasised the importance of eye behavior and said that when the actor assimilated the role, his gaze direction is exactly where it should be. LePape used Tada's theory (1978), indicating that since Japanese aren't accustomed to looking into other people's eyes, they feel pressured when they find nothing to look at apart from the other person. When a Japanese has a guest in his home, the host must have some place that the guest can look at. For example, looking at the *Kakejiku*, a long vertical hanging scroll with a painting or calligraphy on silk or paper, helps to cut down mutual gaze between the host and the guest. LePape also says that the Japanese attachment to flowers, birds, the wind and moon are related to eye contact. Such things could be the best targets of gaze during a conversation when a Japanese wants to avoid mutual eye contact.

It can be said that Japan has a hierarchical and collective society while American society is based on social equality and individuality (Barnlund 1975, Nakane 1984, Hattori 1985a). Kobayashi (1982) says that in a hierarchical society, people of lower status always have to behave modestly; modesty is shown by averting one's gaze and looking down. Morris (1972) says that the bow has a soothing effect not because it shows a humble attitude but because it represents

a symbolic avoidance of invading another's space. Japanese usually avoid mutual gaze, so this could be one reason why the bow has become very common in Japan.

Japanese children are taught by their parents that looking into other people's eyes is immodest. One of the most popular books on manners in Japan, *Ogasawara-Ryu Reihou Nyumon* (1984), states that one should look between the eyes and the chest when facing another person, instead of looking right into the eyes. American children are taught to look at other people's eyes during conversation. Their parents teach them to look at the eyes when their parents are talking to them. There is a different regulative consciousness behind eye behavior in different cultures (Hattori 1985b).

2. Characteristics Common to Both Japanese and Americans

We have seen that eye behavior varies according to cultural background, but we can find characteristics common to different cultures. I observed patterns of conversation between Japanese and Americans at Joetsu University of Education according to my 12 observational guidelines (see Appendix). The subjects were two Americans from Iowa, male, aged 43, and female, aged 40. All conversation was in English. Japanese subjects included 42 undergraduate students, 21 graduate students, 5 faculty members and their families at Joetsu University of Education. The observation was carried out over a period of exactly two weeks.

There were characteristics of eye behavior found to be common to both Japanese and Americans.

- One looks more while listening than while speaking.
- When one is just about to start speaking, one looks away from the interlocutor.
- At the end of an utterance, the speaker always looks at the interlocutor.
- When the speaker looks at the listener, the listener

looks back at the speaker's eyes and gives signals of various kinds.

- One looks away when one is thinking or organizing one's message.
- One looks less when topics of conversation are not interesting.

These indicate that both Japanese and Americans use eye behavior as a method of obtaining feedback from the interlocutor.

3. Differences in eye behavior between Japanese and Americans

Many Americans regard a person as being a slightly suspicious or shifty character if he does not make a certain amount of culturally prescribed eye contact with his partner when talking face-to-face (Argyle, 1967). Japanese children are taught in school to direct the gaze at the region of their superior's Adam's apple or tie knot (Morsbach, 1982).

Morsbach (1982) quotes comments by Mr. Wagatsuma, a Japanese who has lived in America for many years:

> I am notorious for my habit of looking straight into a person's eyes when I am talking to him. This, I have been told, annoys or makes the person feel uneasy or threatened in Japan. I therefore try not to do that so often when talking to Japanese as I do talking to Americans. Older people, like my father, try not to look at the Emperor's eyes too long (when being presented to him), which means they look slightly downward, psychologically lowering themselves before him.

According to Barnlund (1975) Japanese in general prefer an interpersonal style in which aspects of the self made accessible to others, the "public self," are relatively small,

while the proportion that is not revealed, the "private self," is relatively large. Americans generally prefer a communicative style in which the self made accessible to others is relatively large while the proportion that remains concealed is relatively small. This suggests that what an American knows about himself is more readily shared with others and one manifestation of this principle is the greater eye contact of Americans.

The following data are compiled from surveys given to 45 bilingual and bicultural students who had lived in the United States. They came from four high schools which have special courses or classes for students returning from foreign countries. Data was taken from 72 students, but only 45 could be chosen as being truly bilingual and bicultural; these students had lived in the United States for at least two years and used English to communicate with their friends. All returnees who had studied at Japanese schools only had to be omitted, no matter how long they had lived in the United States; through interviews with them I came to realise that they were neither bilingual nor bicultural.

The questions and answers are summarized as follows:

- *Do you think you gaze more when compared to your Japanese friends who have lived only in Japan?*
  a great deal more 11%
  much more 40%
  a little more 36%
  about the same 13%
  a little less 0%
  much less 0%
  a great deal less 0%
- *What impression did you have of Japanese who avoided making eye contact with you during the conversation?*
  friendly:
  extremely friendly 0%
  very friendly 0%

somewhat friendly..... 7%
neither friendly nor unfriendly 24%
somewhat unfriendly..... 42%
very unfriendly 18%
extremely unfriendly..... 9%

polite:
extremely polite 0%
very polite..... 2%
somewhat polite 2%
neither polite nor impolite 22%
somewhat impolite 18%
very impolite 36%
extremely impolite 20%

respectful:
extremely respectful 0%
very respectful..... 0%
somewhat respectful 11%
neither respectful nor disrespectful..... 36%
somewhat disrespectful..... 20%
very disrespectful 20%
extremely disrespectful..... 13%

From this survey, we can say that bilingual and bicultural students gaze more than Japanese students without significant foreign experience, and also have negative impressions about avoiding gaze. There appear to be two reasons for this. One is that when these students first went to the United States, they had difficulty in understanding English. They had to catch as much information as possible from their interlocutor therefore the amount of gaze increased. The second is that it is 'natural' to maintain eye contact while carrying on a conversation in the United States, so the students got used to looking at others during the conversation.

I observed the English Conversation Seminar held at the Education Center in Kanagawa prefecture. The participants

were eight American Monbushou English Fellows (MEF, native speaker assistants who teach English in junior and senior high schools in Japan), one American exchange teacher, 26 Japanese high school English teachers, and three English teachers' consultants. The observation was carried out over two days, for a total of 15 hours using the same twelve observational guidelines. This observation at the Education Center confirmed the results of observations at Joetsu University of Education, and additional characteristics were found as well.

- Americans react by eye language much more than do Japanese.
- Japanese use more verbal feedback than Americans. Words like "Yeah" and "Uh-huh" were used by Japanese approximately 20% more often than by Americans.

It is true that Americans sometimes have difficulties in communicating with Japanese because of the lack of eye contact. But we have seen that Japanese do use eye behavior in communication. It can be said that Japanese and Americans have different rules for when it should occur.

Conclusion

In this paper, cultural influences on eye behavior have been discussed. There was a difference in eye behavior between Japanese and Americans, but we were also able to find many characteristics common to both cultures. This means that much eye movement consists of messages to which both Japanese and Americans attach similar meaning. For both Japanese and Americans, eye behavior helps verbal communication and plays a very important role, even though some eye behaviors take place quite unconsciously.

Today's increased intercultural contact may bring additional misunderstanding, friction, and tension; the impact of non-

verbal communication in different cultures needs to be recognised. Eye behavior undoubtedly helps to avoid misunderstanding, not only between different cultures but also within our own culture.

Appendix

Knapp (1978) proposed a system of categories for a global analysis of observing human interaction. It is designed to furnish a general framework for looking at interpersonal transactions and gives a feeling for the type of judgements that need to be made when observing communication. On the basis of Knapp's categories, and in collaboration with another observer and the communicators themselves, a set of guidelines was evolved: (1) Is there generally a lot of visual contact, or not very much? Why? (2) Do one or both participants seem to stare or extend eye contact beyond normal limits? Why? (3) Do one or both participants seem to avoid eye contact beyond normal limits? Why? (4) In what circumstances does one person look away? Why? (5) Where do they look when one person is not looking at the other person? Is there any identifiable pattern? (6) Is there any excessive blinking by one or both parties? When do they blink most? (7) At what point is gaze most evident? Not evident? Why? (8) Do communicator and listener have relatively consistent eye behavior? When does eye behavior change? (9) Are they communicating attitude or emotions with their eyes? (10) Were there gross changes in eye behavior at certain points in the conversation? (11) Were there times when one person's eye behavior elicited a similar or opposite eye behavior response from the other person? (12) What effect does eye gaze, or lack of it, seem to have on the other participant?

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SOURCES OF ERROR: THE THIRD PERSON SINGULAR PRESENT IN JAPANESE LEARNER ENGLISH

Neville J. Saunders

Abstract

This paper examines the errors in the third person singular (z) morpheme, using data from longitudinal studies of the spontaneous speech of adult Japanese learning English. Sentence length and grammatical complexity were found to be significant factors in the error rate, as was phonological interference (production of word final consonants and clusters) and lexical choice. Some of the implications for teachers are discussed.

この論文は、英語を学ぶ大人の日本人の自発的な話し言葉に対する縦断的研究から得られたデータを使って、三人称単数｛－２｝形態素の使用における誤りを考察しています。誤用率の重要な要因として、音韻上の干渉（語尾の子音と子音連結の発音）や語いの選択と同様、文の長さ及び文法の複雑さもあげられることがわかります。英語教師のためのヒントもあつかわれています。

Neville Saunders is a Senior Lecturer in Asian languages and linguistics at the Western Australian Institute of Technology. He is a graduate of Sydney, Essex and Sheffield Universities.

Introduction

Error in the use of the third person singular present tense marker of verbs is a common feature of the spoken and written English of many EFL learners, including Japanese. The source of the difficulty which underlies this error is often ascribed to one or both of two explanations. The first of these involves the notion of interference from the native language: in most languages (including Japanese) verbs do not conjugate for person and number as English verbs do, and thus it is claimed that the EFL learner will have difficulty in internalising the new distinction between the (ϕ) morpheme required for most of the present tense and the third person singular marker (z) (hereinafter referred to as 3S). The second explanation relates to learnability: as the marker is largely redundant (in most cases it can be omitted without affecting the meaning at all), the learner is more likely to omit it as he/she is focusing attention on the content rather than the form of the communication. These explanations are vague generalisations which do not attempt to define the learners' problems with any precision, and cannot therefore suggest steps for improving performance. They are of little practical value for the teacher whose students wish to communicate with a relatively unmarked (for foreign accent) form of English.

This paper attempts to define the problems of the 3S morpheme with greater precision, to determine what steps might be appropriately applied to improve the success rate of attachment of the morpheme. This is achieved by examination of the actual errors produced by Japanese EFL learners to provide insight into the development patterns and problems associated with the use of the 3S morpheme. From this knowledge the teacher is in a better position to intervene effectively (or to choose not to intervene) in the acquisition process. The method of research is not new. It was suggested by Corder (1967) as a means of discovering learning patterns. This paper,

however, goes beyond other morpheme studies in considering the influence of phonological and lexical factors in addition to the grammatical.

Subjects, Data and Method

The method used is a form of content analysis. Use was made of a data base of 6811 sentences produced in 10 individual longitudinal studies of the spontaneous informal speech of Japanese students aged sixteen to thirty enrolled in an intensive English programme in Australia. There was a wide range of ability in spoken English across the 10 subjects, and they were taught in two groups (labelled advanced and standard) according to their level of proficiency in English. There were five subjects from each group.

From this data base all sentences which required the use of the 3S attached to main verbs which do not also function as auxiliaries (i.e. *is, has,* and *does*) were abstracted as in Dulay and Burt (1973, etc.), a total of 220 obligatory situations in 216 sentences. All situations were then rated for error in the 3S morpheme. The errors noted were all omissions of the 3S marker, as found in the sentence:

Y2: He pronounce- # (English) very different from me and Australian people.

Situations where it is difficult to determine whether there is an error or not (e.g. if an /s/ or /z/ follows without a pause) are not counted in the total. Error rates were then determined for each study and for each individual in each recording session.

Results

There were errors in 98 of the 220 obligatory situations, an average of 45%. This rate of use is considered to be low when compared with more than 1,200 uses of *is* and a similar figure

for the use of the unmarked present tense form. Individually, however, the subjects revealed a wide range of error rates, from 16% to 78%. The highest error rates occurred unexpectedly amongst the more advanced students, and the error rates did not decrease during the course of the study. These latter two findings were in contrast to previous studies of the development of questions and relatives in the same data base (Saunders, 1983, 1986b) which showed that the more advanced subjects performed better and there was an improvement during the course of the study. As a result more detailed grammatical, lexical and phonological analysis was undertaken.

Grammatical Environment

The error rates were first investigated according to sentence complexity, defined in terms of the number of clauses contained within the sentence, and the results are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Error Rates in Simple and Complex Sentences

Sentence Complexity	Number of Sentences	Error Rate
1 clause	102	37%
2 clauses	89	55%
3 or more clauses	25	60%

From this table it can be seen that complex sentences (two or more clauses) have higher rates of error than simple sentences (one clause). Thus the error is more likely to appear in longer, more complex sentences, suggesting that the learner does not apply the same level of commitment to producing correct forms when involved in organising longer sentences. This is the trade-off effect. It is not possible from this data to determine whether there is a ratio of length to error rate beyond the simple-complex distinction because of the relatively low

incidence of longer sentences which results in the difference in error rate not being significant.

If sentence complexity involves more than the number of clauses, and is dependent on the types of clauses, then the error rate should reflect the hierarchy of "difficulty" in respect of the various types of clauses. Further analysis of the sentences by types of clauses used showed that there was no significant difference in error rate according to the linear order of the clauses (that is whether the subordinate clause preceded or followed the principal clause), nor whether the obligatory situation occurred in the principal or the subordinate clause. What was significant, however, was the clause type itself. The group of sentences containing co-ordinate clauses, adverbial clauses of reason or reported speech produced an error ratè of 50%, while the group comprising temporal, conditional and relative clauses produced an error rate of 79% in the 3S morpheme. It is therefore concluded that there are at least two classes of complexity by clause type which result in different levels of trade-off error.

This finding may explain why the more advanced students produced higher levels of error – they produced longer and more complex sentence types. This also may explain why there did not appear to be any noticeable improvement during the course of the study – the expected improvement in error rate (from learning and practicing) is offset by the increase in trade-off error (from the production of more complex sentences).

Phonological Environment

The phonological environment relating to this morpheme may be considered in three sections – the phonological shape of the morpheme itself, the preceding environment and the following environment. The morpheme does provide particular problems for Japanese learners as its attachment often pro-

duces a syllable final consonant cluster which does not occur in their language.

This morpheme has three allomorphs (phonetically different shapes) – [s], [z] or [əz] – depending on the preceding phoneme. The use and error rate for each form is shown in Table 2.

Table 2

Error Rates in the 3S Allomorphs

Allomorph	Obligatory Situations	Errors	
	No.	No.	%
[s]	104	40	38
[z]	103	49	48
[əz]	13	9	69
Total	220	98	45

This table shows the voiceless [s] the most stable of the three, with the [əz] the least stable. Further it shows that while [s] and [z] have nearly equal distribution, [əz] is used far less frequently. While it would be predicted that [əz] would occur less frequently as it is attached to words ending in a smaller number of phonemes than the other two, the high error rate indicates greater difficulty with this form, possibly to the extent of avoidance (the conscious or subconscious side-stepping of a particular form or structure).

The effect of the preceding phoneme may be judged from Table 3. This table includes only those phonemes with 10 or more obligatory situations. Two factors stand out in this table. First, the error rate for /ts/ is nearly twice the average, and second, the error rate for /ks/ is only half the average. From this it could be inferred that the /ts/ cluster is much more difficult for Japanese speakers than the /ks/ cluster. It is also interesting to note that the singleton consonant /z/

attached to words ending with a vowel produces error at the average rate. It seems that it is no more difficult to produce a singleton /z/ than a cluster for this morpheme.

Table 3

Use and Error of 3S by Preceding Phoneme

Phoneme	Obligatory Situations	Errors	
	No.	No.	%
/m/	15	8	53
/v/	14	6	43
/t/	32	24	75
/d/	14	6	43
/n/	16	8	50
/k/	70	15	22
vowel	42	20	45
other consonants	17	11	65
Total	220	98	45

The environment following the cluster was also analysed, but because the morpheme is conditioned by the preceding and not the following environment, the range of possible combinations is far greater and the distribution in each category correspondingly smaller; fewer valid generalisations are therefore possible. A larger data base is required to ensure a sufficient number of obligatory situations. Further, an acoustic study (Saunders 1986a) shows that word final clusters are often followed by devoiced vowels and glottal stops which may affect the phonological interpretation in this situation. There were, however, 14 situations where a clause- or sentence-final pause followed the 3S morpheme and 12 (88%) of these are in error. This may be related to the falling intensity in this position affecting the pronunciation of the fricative.

To sum up, the phonological environment plays a significant

role in the error rate in this morpheme, and the following generalisations can be made:

1. The [əz] is more difficult than the [s] or [z] allomorphs.
2. The [ts] cluster is more difficult than other clusters.
3. The singleton consonant [z] after vowels is no easier than clusters.
4. Clause- and sentence-finally the morpheme is more likely to be omitted than medially.

Lexical Environment

The obligatory situations for the 3S morpheme occurred with some sixty different verbs, but eight account for 41% of the total use. These are listed in Table 4 together with the number of uses, error rate and number of subjects displaying them.

Table 4

Use, Error and Distribution of Verbs with 3S Attached

Verb	Use	Errors		Subjects Displaying
	No.	No.	%	No.
take	17	5	29	6
go	13	3	23	4
make	11	4	36	6
mean	11	4	36	4
come	10	7	70	6
depend	10	2	20	5
like	10	1	10	7
want	10	7	70	5
Total	92	33	36	

Of these verbs *go, like* and *depend* have a much lower error rate than would be predicted from the analysis of the final

phoneme (table 3), while *come* has a somewhat higher error rate. It is interesting that *come* also revealed a higher error rate than *go* in this verb attachment and in the past tense as well. Although all verbs were quite widely distributed, as were the errors, the error in *take* was confined to two subjects in the standard group, in the sentence type:

It take- x minutes from A to B.

One subject produced the morpheme correctly twice after classroom dialogue practice using the pattern, but some months later produced the error twice. This suggests that rote memorising a morpheme in a dialogue does not result in the acquisition of a morpheme if the subject has not reached the appropriate level to use it.

The study of the lexical use shows that there are some interesting problems in this area, but again a larger data base might reveal the extent to which error rate is determined by words or classes of words.

Discussion

Understanding the sources of 3S error is essential for the teacher who proposes intervention to reduce the incidence of omission. This study has shown that there is more than a single source of difficulty which can affect the error rate, and as a result it is argued that any attempt at remediation would require understanding of at least the major factors. The factors analysed here fell within the three areas of grammar, phonology and lexicon.

There is a relationship between complexity of sentence and error rate. From this it can be concluded that the error is both more likely to occur and less open to correction in complex sentences, especially those involving relative, temporal or conditional clauses. This raises the question as to whether correction should be given in all situations, or only in

those where the correct form could be expected more often.

The errors relating to the phonetic environment suggest that much of the difficulty with the 3S morpheme relates to interference at the level of phonology. For many learners additional practice in the [əz] allomorph is indicated to compensate for its lower frequency of use. In addition practice in word final /z/ and consonant clusters would seem warranted: studies of the past tense by Wolfram (1985), of consonant clusters in general by Ioup (1984), Sato (1984) and Greenberg (1983), and of word final /z/ by Dickerson (1975) suggest that for many EFL students, including Japanese, these phonological problems are serious. Dickerson, interestingly, showed that the level of formality was a factor in Japanese realising a word final /z/ correctly. Some further practice with the /ts/ cluster is also indicated for Japanese students, especially in producing a longer /s/ in this environment, as an acoustic study (Saunders, 1986a) shows the length of the /s/ in the /ts/ cluster is very short. Finally, it is necessary to practice maintaining the fricative in the clause- or sentence-final position.

The use and omission of the morpheme in particular lexical environments highlights the fact that learning to use a morpheme correctly in a sentence pattern is not a guarantee that it will be generalised to other sentences, or even maintained in the same pattern. Here, the teacher's expectations of his students are important factors affecting the variable use of the morpheme. It is clear from this research that studies of L2 morpheme acquisition must consider more than just the simple counts of presence or absence – if an adequate understanding of the processes is to be achieved.

Conclusion

This study found that the stability of the third person singular present tense morpheme in the spoken English of

Japanese was affected by the length and complexity of the sentence, by the phonetic shape of the morpheme and the phonetic environment, and by the lexical item it is attached to. These findings were specifically:

1. The morpheme is more likely to be omitted in sentences of more than one clause than in a sentence of one clause.

2. The morpheme is more likely to be omitted in relative, temporal and conditional clauses than in simple co-ordination, causal or reported speech clauses.

3. The [əz] form of the morpheme is more likely to be omitted than the other forms.

4. The morpheme is more likely to be omitted in the cluster /ts/ and less likely in the cluster /ks/.

5. The morpheme is more likely to be omitted in clause- or sentence-final position.

6. The morpheme is more likely to be omitted with some words like *come* than with others like *go* or *depend*.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRAGMATIC COMPETENCE BY JAPANESE LEARNERS OF ENGLISH*

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to report on a study examining the developmental pragmatic competence of Japanese learners of English as compared with native Americans. Their pragmatic competence was analyzed qualitatively in terms of the tone and content of their refusals. Qualitative assessments of transfer strategies were also given.

The data are based on the written refusals of 80 subjects – 20 native speakers using Japanese and 20 native speakers using English, as compared with 40 Japanese students speaking English (20 EFL and 20 ESL). Within the ESL and EFL categories, 10 students are at the graduate level and 10 at the undergraduate level, categories which reflect approximate level of proficiency.

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We address the issue of pragmatic transfer as a function of learning context (ESL vs. EFL) and proficiency level. Taylor (1975) has demonstrated that beginners have the highest level of transfer, with transfer *decreasing* as proficiency increases. We hypothesize that this does not occur in our sample at the pragmatic level. Our reasoning is that the lower proficiency students do not have the fluency in the target language to give reign to pragmatic transfer phenomena. Based on the results of the study, we attempt to explain the developmental pragmatic competence of Japanese EFL/ESL students.

本稿では、日本人英語学習者におけるプラグマティックスの発達課程がいかなるものであるか、その調査結果を報告し考察を行う。ここでは、招待等の「断わり方」に焦点をあて、日本語と英語では返答のし方に違いがあるとの推測のもと、それぞれの言語（第二言語又は外国語としての英語、母国語としての英語と日本語）における返答の内容及び語調を比較対照した。さらに、日本人英語学習者における母国語の影響の度合を調べることも試みた。

研究データは、以下の４グループ（各20名）がそれぞれの言語で答えたアンケートに基づく：(1)日本人が日本語で、(2)アメリカ人が英語で、(3)英語を日本で学ぶ日本人が英語で、(4)英語をアメリカで学ぶ日本人が英語で。(3)と(4)の２グループは、それぞれ大学と大学院のレベル（各10名）にわかれ、英語能力の違いも考慮に入れた。

本調査では、母国語の影響は、英語を学ぶ環境(英語をアメリカで学ぶ場合と日本で学ぶ場合）及び英語習得レベルによって左右される可能性があることを予測する。例えば、テイラー（1975）は、母国語の影響は、初級学習者において最も強く、学習が進むにつれ減少する、との調査結果を発表しているが、本調査においては、プラグマティックスのレベルでは、同じ現象は見られず、むしろ学習がある程度進んだ者ほど母国語の影響を受け易いと予測する。これは初級学習者には、プラグマティックスのレベルで、日本語のディスコースを導入する英語能力に欠けるとの理由からである。これらの予測のもと、日本人英語学習者のプラグマティックスの発達課程の一考察を行うものである。

Introduction

One of the major cross-cultural "sticking points" for ESL students in English-speaking countries is the art of saying "no." The inability to say "no" clearly and politely, though not too directly, has led many non-native speakers to offend their interlocutors. The problem seems to stem in part from cross-cultural differences in refusal patterns.

The consequences of failing to recognize pragmatic differences between languages can be serious in international political situations where conversation is translated for foreign diplomats and politicians. For instance, in 1974, the late Prime Minister of Japan, Mr. Sato, was asked by President Nixon whether he would agree to self-imposed restrictions on the export of fabrics to the U.S. Mr. Sato answered,

"Zensho shimasu." This Japanese expression was literally translated into English as, "I'll take care of it." When used by politicians, however, this expression actually consitutes a polite refusal in Japanese. Later on, of course, Mr. Nixon became very angry because the Japanese did nothing.

At the interpersonal level, too, we find many problems which stem in part from cross-cultural differences in the rules of speaking (see Hymes, 1972; Wolfson, 1983 for discussion of rules of speaking). In our large-scale project, we have been examining the problems which non-native speakers face in making refusals in a second language (L2). The major purpose of the project is to present some evidence of "pragmatic transfer" in the ESL/EFL learners' refusals. Pragmatic transfer is defined here as transfer of first language (L1) sociocultural communicative competence in performing L2 speech acts (cf. Beebe, in press; Beebe, Takahashi, & Uliss-Weltz, in press).

Our previous study (Beebe *et al.,* in press) has demonstrated that pragmatic transfer exists in the order, frequency, and intrinsic content and tone of semantic formulas used in ESL refusals. For instance, as compared with American native speakers, both Japanese speaking Japanese and Japanese speaking English as an L2 tend to use expressions of regret (or apologies) more frequently with higher-status interlocutors, but less frequently with lower-status interlocutors. It has been also found that Americans typically started a refusal with an expression of positive opinion such as "I would like to." Then they expressed regret. Thirdly they gave an excuse. When refusing equal status interlocutors, Japanese subjects (both in Japanese and in English) started with an apology or a statement of regret and then gave an excuse directly after that as their second formula. That is, they often omitted an initial expression of positive opinion in their refusals. A difference between American and Japanese refusals was also found in the actual content of the formulas used. Japanese excuses are often much less specific than American

excuses, but in general Japanese refusals often sound more formal and sometimes even "philosophical."

A great deal of other work on pragmatic transfer has also focused on speech acts – how they are realized in native languages (NL) and how non-native speakers realize them in their L2. Cohen and Olshtain (1981), for instance, analyzed the apologies of 44 college students in Israel – 32 native speakers of Hebrew learning intermediate-level ESL and 12 native English speakers. They compared native English, native Hebrew, and Israeli ESL apologies. In written role-played responses, they found that Israeli ESL students were less likely to offer repair, were less likely to acknowledge responsibility, and expressed less intensity of regret than American native speakers of English. Cohen and Olshtain argued that their patterns often (though not always) reflected sociocultural transfer of native Hebrew patterns.

Olshtain (1983) reported on a related study of apologies in Israel where the target language (TL) was Hebrew, rather than English. She examined data from 27 subjects from L1 English or Russian backgrounds using Hebrew as an L2 as compared with data from 36 subjects (12 each) using native English, Russian, or Hebrew. She found that English had the highest rate of apology on all semantic formulas. Hebrew had the lowest on all except the offer of repair. Thus the general pattern appeared to be: English → Russian → Hebrew.

Eisenstein and Bodman (1986) examined both native and non-native expressions of gratitude. Their subjects came from 15 different language backgrounds. Subjects were asked to write on a questionnaire what they thought they would say when they received a gift, favor, reward, or service. The researchers found all kinds of difficulties, especially grammatical and lexical problems (e.g., "I very appreciate").

There exist many other studies focusing on the acquisition of L2 pragmatics (e.g., Blum-Kulka, 1982). Comparing such studies, however, we have come to realize that some studies

convincingly argued for the importance of pragmatic transfer, while others discussed more general problems not necessarily arising from NL transfer. It has also come to our attention that subjects who had participated in these studies on speech acts had varying levels of L2 proficiency. Subjects were also from different learning contexts (e.g., EFL and ESL). No study that we know of, however, has investigated the effects of different L2 proficiency levels and of the EFL vs. ESL context upon the development of L2 pragmatics.

In the present study we will continue to examine the phenomenon of pragmatic transfer while investigating developmental aspects of L2 pragmatic competence as well. Will there be evidence of pragmatic transfer in both learning contexts (EFL and ESL) and at both proficiency levels (lower and higher)? Will there be a difference in the amount of transfer according to different learning contexts and proficiency levels? Regarding the answers to these questions, we have formulated the following hypotheses:

1. There will be evidence of pragmatic transfer in both the EFL and the ESL contexts.
2. There will be evidence of pragmatic transfer at both the lower and higher proficiency levels.
3. There will be more pragmatic transfer in the EFL context than in the ESL context.
4. There will be more pragmatic transfer among higher proficiency learners than among lower proficiency levels.

The first three hypotheses may seem to be "common sense" to the researcher since evidence for them is well established in the literature. The fourth one, however, is less expected. Evidence exists in the literature to the contrary. For example, in the area of L2 morpho-syntax, Taylor (1975) has demonstrated that beginners have the highest level of transfer, with transfer *decreasing* as proficiency increases. It is possible, however, that this generalization does not hold at the pragmatic

level. Our reasoning is that lower proficiency learners lack the fluency in English to fall into the negative transfer trap. It is the higher proficiency learners who already have a certain fluency who will more often fall prey to transfer. We would suggest that transfer at the pragmatic level is not exactly parallel to transfer at the phonological or morpho-syntactic level because pragmatic transfer requires competence at the lower linguistic levels (e.g., phonology, grammar, lexicon). We expect that lower proficiency learners may not be able to encode translations of socioculturally appropriate Japanese patterns. They will have to resort to a simplification strategy. More advanced learners, however, will be able to encode English phrases that reflect Japanese norms of politeness, or perhaps indirectness. Thus transfer will be possible. With very advanced learners, the amount of transfer will again decrease because they will reach near native ability in the second language. In sum, we expect a skewed bell curve as the developmental pattern for pragmatic transfer. And we anticipate that the high point for pragmatic transfer will occur later than the high point for phonological or morpho-syntactic transfer.

Method

Subjects

Eighty subjects took part in the study:

(1) 20 Japanese speaking Japanese in Japan (JJJ)
(2) 20 Japanese learners of English in Japan (JEJ)
(3) 20 Japanese speakers of English in U.S. (JEA)
(4) 20 American native speakers of English (AEA)

Both categories JEJ and JEA are English learners, the primary focus of our study. However, JEJs are EFL learners in Japan while JEAs are ESL learners in the United States, thus they are differentiated by learning context. Within the EFL and

ESL categories, 10 students are at the undergraduate level (JE-lo and JEA-lo) and 10 at the graduate level (JEJ-hi and JEA-hi), categories which were chosen in order to obtain two different levels of English proficiency. [Mean Age: JEJ-lo, 21.4; JEJ-hi, 26.0; JEA-lo, 21.3; JEA-hi, 28.2]

All JEJ subjects (Japanese speaking English in Japan) were students majoring in English at a university in Japan. They had studied English for an average length of 11 years. Four out of the 20 JEJs (all four from JEJ-hi) had traveled in the United States, but for less than one month. The other 16 had never been in any English-speaking country before. Although they had been exposed to a limited amount of natively spoken English, they had a good command of English especially in reading and writing.

All JEA subjects (Japanese speaking English in America) were living in the New York City area. The undergraduate students were all ESL students from the Queens College English Language Institute. They had spent an average of 7 months (range: 4 months to 1 year) in the United States. None of them had majored in English before coming to the United States, accordingly they had less academic training in English than the JEJs. The graduate students were in different majors, e.g., TESOL, business, art and comparative literature, at four different graduate institutions. They had been in the United States for an average of 4 years (range: 1½ years to 8 years) and were fluent in English.

Materials and Procedures

All 80 subjects were asked to fill out a Discourse Completion Test (DCT), a questionnaire consisting of 12 written role-play situations. Each situation contained a blank in which only a refusal would fit. The word "refusal" was not used in order to avoid biasing the respondent's choice of response. The 12 situations were categorized into four stimulus types

eliciting refusals: requests, invitations, offers, and suggestions. One of each group required a refusal to a higher status person, one to a lower status person, and one to a person of equal status. Examples of the role-play situations were refusing a worker's request for a raise, refusing an invitation to the boss's house for a party and refusing an offer to pay for a broken vase.

Data Analysis

The refusals were analyzed as consisting of a sequence of semantic formulas (see Appendix A). For example, if a respondent refused an invitation to a friend's house for dinner, saying "I'm sorry, I have theater tickets that night. Maybe we could come by later for a drink," this response would be coded as consisting of three formulas: [expression of regret] [excuse] [offer of alternative].

In analyzing the data, we coded the order of semantic formulas used in each refusal. The total number of semantic formulas of any kind used for each situation was obtained for each subject group. In addition, we calculated the frequency of each formula (e.g., the number of excuses) for each situation. We also noted the content of certain semantic formulas. For example, "I'm busy" and "I have three final exams tomorrow" are both coded as excuses; however the two clearly differ in specificity and persuasiveness.

In generalizing about the typical order of semantic formulas, we focused only on formulas which were used by 40% or more of the subjects in each group. In some cases, however, independent formulas in a similar category were grouped together. If they reached a frequency higher than 40% and if there was a strong tendency for them to be placed in the same order, these formulas were also considered in the overall sequence. For example, [positive opinion], [pause filler] and other adjuncts tended to be placed in initial position. Adjuncts

are formulas which, if standing alone, do not constitute a refusal. In the case of adjuncts, each one separately might not reach 40% frequency. However, they were sometimes lumped together to bring out the generalization that they were frequent alternatives in the initial slot.

Results and Discussion

In the course of our analysis, we first examined the typical order of formulas for Japanese speaking Japanese natively in Japan (JJJs) and Americans speaking English natively in America (AEAs). Next we examined the patterns of the Japanese non-native speakers of English to see if they resembled native Japanese patterns (thereby reflecting NL transfer) or if they resembled native English patterns (thereby reflecting TL acquisition). The following are some examples of pragmatic transfer.

First, in the situation of refusing an employee's request for a raise, there is clear evidence of transfer (see Table 1). Japanese native speakers began with a statement of positive opinion (e.g., "I would like to help you") and/or a statement of empathy for the employee's predicament (e.g., "I understand your situation"). All four groups of Japanese learners of English used the expression of empathy to begin with, whereas American native speakers never did. This pattern was clear evidence of transfer.

Secondly, in the situation of refusing an invitation to a friend's house for dinner, there was again reason to suggest pragmatic transfer (see Table 2). Japanese native speakers typically began with an apology, while all groups of Japanese learners of English also began with an expression of regret except the most advanced students who were living in the U.S. (JEA-hi). Since "I'm sorry" can be an apology or a statement of regret, we considered the Japanese learners' choice of "I'm sorry" in the initial position as evidence of transfer. The most

advanced Japanese learners of English typically began with an expression of gratitude, an expression which Japanese native speakers occasionally began their utterances with and Americans tended to end with.

Table 1

Typical Order of Semantic Formulas

In Refusals of Employee's Request for a Raise
[Refuser in a Higher Status]

Group	Order of Formulas			
	1	2	3	4
JJJ (NL)	empathy or positive opinion	excuse	can't	—
JEJ-lo	positive opinion empathy, filler	excuse	—	—
JEJ-hi	positive opinion empathy, filler	excuse regret	can't	—
JEA-lo	positive opinion or empathy	can't	excuse	—
JEA-hi	empathy or pause filler	positive opinion	excuse	can't
AEA (TL)	positive opinion	regret	excuse	can't

Key:
JJJ = Japanese speaking Japanese in Japan
JEJ = Japanese speaking English in Japan
JEA = Japanese speaking English in America
AEA = American speaking English in America
-lo = lower proficiency (subgroup)
-hi = higher proficiency (subgroup)

Table 2

Typical Order of Semantic Formulas

In Refusals to Invitation to Friend's House for Dinner
[Refuser in an Equal Status]

Group	Order of Formulas			
	1	2	3	4
JJJ (NL)	apology or adjuncts	excuse	–	–
JEJ-lo	regret*	excuse	–	–
JEJ-hi	regret*	excuse	–	–
JEA-lo	regret*	excuse or can't	–	–
JEA-hi	gratitude	excuse	–	–
AEA (TL)	positive opinion	regret	excuse	gratitude

Note:
*Apology and regret are distinct in Japanese, but both may be realized as "I'm sorry" in English. JEJ and JEA responses are coded as regret, not apology, although they could be a translation from Japanese apologies.

In the situation of refusing the boss's invitation to a party, transfer was again apparent (see Table 3). The native speakers of Japanese sometimes began with a statement of positive opinion, but also typically began with an apology. This latter pattern appeared again in three of the Japanese groups which began with an expression of regret. American native speakers typically began with a positive opinion (e.g., "That sounds wonderful") and then expressed regret secondarily, before

leading into their excuse. Starting off with regret sounds a little abrupt to the American ear. It must be also noted that the Japanese native group sometimes ended with an apology, as did the most advanced Japanese group (JEA-hi).

Table 3

Typical Order of Semantic Formulas

In Refusals to Boss's Invitation to a Party
[Refuser in a Lower Status]

Group	Order of Formulas			
	1	2	3	4
JJJ (NL)	positive opinion or apology	excuse	avoidance or apology	–
JEJ-lo	pause filler gratitude or regret*	regret* excuse	excuse	–
JEJ-hi	regret* or adjuncts	excuse	can't	–
JEA-lo	regret*	can't	excuse	–
JEA-hi	positive opinion gratitude, or pause filler	excuse	regret*	–
AEA (TL)	positive opinion or gratitude	regret	excuse	–

Note:
*Apology and regret are distinct in Japanese, but both may be realized as "I'm sorry" in English. JEJ and JEA responses are coded as regret, not apology, although they could be a translation from Japanese apologies.

Finally, the refusal to accept the cleaning woman's offer to pay for a broken vase was another situation where transfer appeared (see Table 4).

Table 4

Typical Order of Semantic Formulas

In Refusals to Cleaning Woman's Offer to Pay for a Broken Vase
[Refuser in a Higher Status]

Group	Order of Formulas		
	1	2	3
JJJ (NL)	let interlocutor off the hook	philosophy	let interlocutor off the hook
JEJ-lo	let interlocutor off the hook	philosophy explanation	let interlocutor off the hook
JEJ-hi	let interlocutor off the hook	philosophy explanation	let interlocutor off the hook
JEA-lo	let interlocutor off the hook	explanation	let interlocutor off the hook
JEA-hi	let interlocutor off the hook	philosophy	let interlocutor off the hook
AEA (TL)	let interlocutor off the hook	explanation	–

Note:
The semantic formula "let interlocutor off the hook" is a subcategory of "Attempt to dissuade interlocutor" (see Appendix A).

All Japanese groups led with an attempt to let the cleaning woman off the hook (e.g., "That's okay," "Never mind"), as did American native speakers. The difference was in the fact

that all Japanese groups tended to make a statement of philosophy second (e.g., "Things with shapes eventually break," "To err is human") and to return thirdly to another attempt to let the interlocutor off the hook (e.g., "You can forget about it"). Americans typically let the interlocutor off the hook once and did not feel the need to do so again or to philosophize in addition. They were much briefer.

These four examples have shown that transfer, though not ubiquitous, is a fairly common strategy. Even among our relatively advanced subjects in this study, transfer seems to exist in the order of semantic formulas in one third of the situations.

Transfer is also evident in the frequency of semantic formulas used by each group. Table 5 presents total frequency counts of semantic formulas (or combined categories) used by each group in 12 situations. Preliminary evidence of pragmatic transfer was found in the frequency of some formulas. For example, the frequencies listed under the category "Dissuade" in Table 5 seem to reflect a tendency for all Japanese groups (both in Japanese and in English) to try to dissuade the interlocutor. The category "Attempt to Dissuade" includes such semantic formulas as: (1) threat or statement of negative consequences to the requester, (2) guilt trip, (3) criticize, insult, or attack the interlocutor, etc.

More interesting than the difference in frequency was the difference in range of situations where dissuasion was used. Japanese groups tended to use "dissuade" formulas in many different situations, whereas Americans used such formulas in only a few situations (e.g., when refusing the second offer of a piece of cake, or a friend's suggestion to try a new diet). It seems that refusals by Japanese groups in general tend to show a wider variety and range of semantic formulas than the American group.

As previously mentioned, both in Japanese and English, the Japanese groups tended to make a statement of philosophy in refusing the cleaning woman's offer to pay for a broken vase.

Similarly, Japanese groups tended to make a statement of principle (e.g., "I make a rule to be temperate in eating," "It's our regulation that we should take care of all business matters in the office"). Both the statements of philosophy and the statement of principle contributed to a formal tone in Japanese.

In summary, this discussion indicates that Hypotheses 1 and 2 of the study were confirmed. That is, there is evidence of pragmatic transfer in both the EFL and ESL contexts and at both the lower and higher proficiency levels.

Table 5

Total Frequency Count of Semantic Formulas Used by Each Group in 12 Situations

Formula or CATEGORY	Average Frequency per Subject*					
	JJJ	JEJ-lo	JEJ-hi	JEA-lo	JEA-hi	AEA
I. DIRECT	2.1	2.3	2.8	6.0	3.7	4.1
II. INDIRECT						
A. Regret**	4.4**	3.5	2.3	4.5	3.0**	3.1
B. Wish	.2	.1	.7	0.0	.9	.6
C. Excuse	9.9	8.9	7.7	7.7	9.2	9.5
D. Alternative	1.9	.9	1.2	1.3	1.8	.8
E. Conditions	.7	.2	.4	.5	1.0	.7
G. Princ./Phil.	.9	.8	.8	.1	1.1	.3
H. Dissuade	3.2	3.2	3.2	3.9	2.8	1.8
I. Acceptance	.4	.6	.6	.8	.3	.3
J. Avoidance	4.3	1.1	1.4	1.1	.5	1.5
Adjuncts						
1. Pos. Opinion	3.0	2.6	1.4	2.0	2.2	3.8
2. Empathy	.7	.5	.5	.2	.4	0.0
3. Pause Filler	.9	2.9	1.7	2.1	3.0	3.0
4. Gratitude	1.8	1.5	2.6	2.1	3.0	3.0

Note:

*Obtained by dividing the total frequency count of formulas used by each group in 12 situations by the number of subjects in the group.

**Includes apologies.

Let us now focus on Hypotheses 3 and 4, regarding the amount of pragmatic transfer as a function of learning context (EFL vs. ESL) and proficiency level. Hypothesis 3 states that there will be more pragmatic transfer in the EFL context than in the ESL context. The data in Table 6 confirm this hypothesis.

Table 6

Comparison of Interlanguage Patterns with the NL and TL Patterns

Stimulus Type*	Refuser Status	Situation #	EFL		ESL	
			JEJ-lo	JEJ-hi	JEA-lo	JEA-hi
Request	Higher	1	NL	NL	neither	both
	Equal	2	NL	both	neither	TL
	Lower	12**	TL	TL	TL	TL
Invitation	Higher	3**	neither	neither	neither	TL
	Equal	10	NL	NL	neither	neither
	Lower	4	neither	neither	neither	NL
Suggestion	Higher	8**	neither	neither	neither	TL
	Equal	5	NL	NL	NL	TL
	Lower	6	neither	neither	neither	neither
Offer	Higher	7	NL	NL	both	NL
	Equal	9	both	TL	TL	TL
	Lower	11	neither	neither	neither	TL

Note:
*Refusal of Request, Invitation, Suggestion, or Offer
**In these three items the patterns are quite similar in native Japanese and native English.

Key:
NL, TL = similar to NL or TL patterns
both = similar to both NL and TL patterns
neither = similar to neither NL nor TL patterns

Table 6 presents a holistic comparison of ordering patterns dominant in each proficiency group. In the table the resemblance between the interlanguage (IL) patterns and the NL or TL pattern is indicated by "NL" or "TL" respectively. In some cases the IL pattern is a "composite" (see Beebe, 1984), i.e., a merger of NL and TL variants. This dual resemblance is indicated by the word "both." In other cases the IL pattern is unlike either the native or the target pattern. This is indicated by the word "neither."

If we examine the data in Table 6, we see that transfer is more prevalent in the EFL groups (JEJs) than in the ESL groups (JEAs). Note that there are nine situations for the EFL groups which resembled NL patterns – i.e., where transfer was the dominant strategy. By comparison, there were only three situations for the ESL groups which resembled NL patterns. An equal number of situations reflected composites (indicated by "both") for the EFL and ESL contexts. Note that the greater amount of transfer in the EFL context cannot be explained away as a function of lower proficiency. Based on overall impression, the JEJ-lo group had higher proficiency than the JEA-lo group. In other words, the lower proficiency Japanese speaking English in America (JEA-lo's) were clearly the lowest proficiency group.

Hypothesis 4 is the most controversial hypothesis, and accordingly the data relating to it are the most difficult to interpret. The hypothesis states that there will be more NL transfer displayed by the higher proficiency learners than by the lower proficiency learners. From looking at Table 6, it can be seen that the hypothesis is weakly confirmed by the ESL data. It is even more weakly refuted by the EFL data. In the ESL situations the higher proficiency level group displayed NL transfer in two refusal situations, whereas the lower proficiency group displayed transfer in only one. As for the EFL groups, the situation was the reverse. The higher proficiency group displayed less transfer than the lower proficiency group.

More specifically, the higher proficiency group displayed NL transfer in only four situations, whereas for the lower proficiency group there were five situations where the pattern typically reflected NL transfer. Clearly no definitive support for the hypothesis can be claimed on the basis of these data. However, the authors would like to argue that the evidence favors confirmation of Hypothesis 4, namely, that higher proficiency learners transfer more than lower proficiency learners.

First of all, we would like to suggest that the expected proficiency difference in the EFL subjects (the JEJs) simply did not exist, or that it was so negligible as not to be apparent. Our original intention was to gather data from two very different proficiency groups by studying EFL graduate students versus EFL undergraduates in a Japanese university. We did in fact gather data from these two groups but were not able to ascertain a proficiency difference between them -- at least not from our pragmatic data. It could be that pragmatic competence is not significantly affected by just a few years' difference in school in the EFL context. Or it could be that pragmatic competence in general is affected, but that something so conversational as refusals is not. In any case, we did not perceive a proficiency difference between the so-called JEJ-lo's and the JEJ-hi's. So the weakly disconfirming evidence from these groups does not seem convincing.

On the other hand, there is very clearly a real proficiency difference within the Japanese ESL students living in the United States. The undergraduate JEA-lo's were much lower in proficiency than the graduate JEA-hi's. As we have said, however, the confirming evidence from Table 6 is somewhat weak. This evidence is based primarily on the order and frequency of semantic formulas in refusals. We have not yet looked at the content and tone of the refusals. Turning now to this content analysis, we find additional evidence for Hypothesis 4 suggesting that transfer is indeed more prevalent

among the higher proficiency learners than among lower proficiency learners. We will examine only the ESL data in this regard since it is only in the ESL context that we are confident of having found a real proficiency difference.

One aspect of the content/tone of refusals that seemed to support our hypothesis was the level of directness used. In our analysis semantic formulas are divided into two categories: direct and indirect. The "direct" category consisted of "performative" (e.g., "I refuse"), "No," and "expressions of negative willingness/ability" (e.g., "I can't"). In this study we have found that direct expressions, especially "I can't," were used by the lower proficiency ESL group (JEA-lo) with a very high frequency. As indicated in Table 5, subjects in this group used direct expressions in an average of 6 out of 12 situations. On the other hand, subjects in the higher proficiency ESL speakers (JEA-hi) used direct expressions in an average of 3.7 out of 12 situations. The point is that the higher frequency of direct expressions among lower proficiency learners is not a function of NL transfer, but rather most probably a developmental stage where simpler, and also more direct, expressions are being used.

More important than the difference in frequency was the difference in tone (i.e., degree of directness) used by the two groups. The lower proficiency ESL group (JEA-lo) often used the expression of negative ability "I can't" accompanied by the expression of regret "I'm sorry," which, it seemed, was added in order to soften the directness of the refusal. The higher proficiency ESL group (JEA-hi) also used these expressions, but they seemed to have a wider range of expressions and more flexibility to adjust their level of directness according to different situations. For example, when refusing the boss's invitation to a party, one lower proficiency ESL speaker said briefly, "I'm very very sorry, I can't go." In the same situation, one higher proficiency ESL speaker gave the following more elaborate refusal. "I'm terribly sorry, but we

made up another plan for next Sunday long time ago. So I feel awfully sorry to say no to your wonderful invitation." The higher proficiency Japanese ESL group used a variety of expressions such as "I won't be able to," "I don't think I can," and "I must say no," as well as the commonplace "I can't." Similarly, it was found that the higher proficiency group frequently used a variety of intensifiers (e.g., "really," "awfully," "terribly," "truly," "deeply," and "extremely"). The overuse of such varied expressions reflects the learners' desire to soften the directness of their refusals. It also reflects the Japanese norm of avoiding direct expressions and sounding as polite as possible, especially when talking to a higher status interlocutor, like the boss.

The higher proficiency Japanese speaking English in America (JEA-hi) also reflect more transfer than the lower proficiency learners if we look at the formality of their tone. American native speakers typically refuse an invitation by starting out with a statement of positive feeling, such as "I'd love to. . ." Both the lower and higher proficiency learners made use of these statements. In fact, the frequency of such statements was about the same for the two groups. But the tone of the expressions was different. And the higher proficiency ESL speakers seemed to be more prone to transferring in a typically Japanese formal tone than the lower proficiency learners. Again, it may be that only the more advanced speakers have "the rope to hang themselves with," – i.e., the control over English vocabulary to express Japanese sentiments. In any case, the lower proficiency group (JEA-lo) used typical American expressions such as "I'm glad," "I'm happy," and "I'd like to." On the other hand, although the higher proficiency group also used such expressions, they often over-intensified their positive feelings, lending a formal tone. For example, in refusing the boss's invitation to a party, one highly proficient ESL speaker said, "I am very *delighted and honored* to be asked to attend the party, but. . ." When refusing the offer of a promo-

tion and raise, another subject said, "I feel *honored* to be given that offer but. . ." Saying one feels "honored" in the same situation was found to be quite common among the Japanese native group. Thus, it is evident that this usage reflects NL influence. And since it is the higher proficiency group that is using it, the level of NL transfer is higher for them than for the lower proficiency group who stick to the less formal American expressions, probably because they are simpler on the developmental continuum.

The high level of formality transferred in by the higher proficiency Japanese learners appeared in places other than the initial adjuncts of positive feeling, such as "I'm honored. . ." They also appeared in apologies and expressions of gratitude that were part of a full refusal. For example, higher proficiency ESL speakers favored expressions such as "I have to *apologize* for not being able to come to your party," "I really *appreciate* your offer," and even "I *deeply appreciate* your work." The lower proficiency learners never used such formal expressions although they were typical of the native Japanese patterns. Particularly the apology is instructive. Whereas American native speakers tend to say "I'm sorry" when apologizing, rather than using the performative, "I apologize," native Japanese use a performative very frequently. It is often transferred as the literal translation, "I apologize," but it is more properly translated idiomatically as "I'm sorry" in English. Thus, the data seem to show once again that the higher proficiency learners are transferring more than the lower proficiency learners in that their refusals use the formal tone found in native Japanese.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we have presented evidence that transfer exists in both the EFL and ESL contexts, and that native language influence is generally stronger in the EFL context.

We have also shown that transfer exists at both the lower and higher proficiency levels. Thus pragmatic transfer is pervasive – not limited to one phase of L2 learning. We have also been at pains to argue that transfer increases as the learner's proficiency increases, i.e., that transfer is greater among our higher proficiency learners than among lower proficiency learners. We did not obtain a discernible proficiency difference in our EFL data, so only the ESL data was considered in this regard. Analysis of the content or tone of the refusals suggested that there is some basis to our hypothesis: higher proficiency ESL learners were more subject to native language transfer than lower proficiency learners. We have suggested that their fluency gave them "the rope to hang themselves with." It was precisely their ease with English that allowed them to say what they wanted to say, and in several cases they wanted to express notions that seemed typically Japanese – for instance being "deeply honored" to receive a simple invitation.

We suspect that the evidence provided in this paper is just the tip of the iceberg. Studies are needed to investigate level of transfer (problematic as it is to measure) in relation to level of proficiency. As we suggested earlier, we anticipate a skewed bell curve for level of transfer against a horizontal axis of increased L2 proficiency. The peak of the curve would be expected to fall at higher proficiency levels than the peak of the curve for phonological or morpho-syntactic transfer. Similarly for the developmental curve of any one individual, we would expect phonological and morpho-syntactic transfer to rise to their peaks earlier than pragmatic transfer since pragmatic transfer requires more fluency to surface.

Our data have several limitations. For one thing, they are based on questionnaires; i.e., written role plays. Our natural spoken data are only available for native speakers of English (see Beebe & Cummings, 1985). Secondly, as mentioned, we did not have a proficiency difference in our EFL subjects. The third concern is that we had only two levels of L2 profi-

ciency. We would recommend that future studies have several levels. We suspect that our high proficiency ESL subjects (JEA-hi's) were simply too advanced to display the highest levels of proficiency starting with the least advanced students capable of understanding and responding to the refusal situations and leading all the way up to the near natives. This, we hypothesize, would lead to a bell curve in level of transfer.

One of the problems in interpreting our data is that there are multiple manifestations of transfer. For example, we may find no transfer in the order and frequency of formulas used, but there may still be a hard-to-quantify transfer in the tone of the refusal. Our higher proficiency ESL speakers had acquired most of the English refusal patterns in terms of order and frequency, but any native speaker could discern a foreign element in the tone of their refusals.

At the risk of making yet another clicheed call for further research, we would like to invite others to help us test out our hypothesis. We feel that the challenge of our hypothesis is just as important as the preliminary evidence itself.

Appendix A
Classification of Refusals

I. Direct
   A. Performative (e.g., "I refuse")
   B. Non-performative statement (e.g., "No," "I can't," "I won't")

II. Indirect
   A. Statement of regret (e.g., "I'm sorry," "I feel terrible")
   B. Wish (e.g., "I wish I could help you. . .")
   C. Excuse, reason, explanation
   D. Statement of alternative
   E. Condition for future or past acceptance (e.g., "If you had asked me earlier, I would have. . .")
   F. Promise (e.g., "I'll come next time")
   G. Statement of principle or philosophy
   H. Attempt to dissuade interlocutor (e.g., threat, guilt trip, criticism, let interlocutor off the hook, self defense)
   I. Acceptance which functions as a refusal (e.g., unspecific or indefinite reply, lack of enthusiasm)

J. Avoidance (e.g., non-verbal – silence, hesitation, do nothing, physical departure; verbal – topic switch, joke, hedging)

Adjuncts to refusals

1. Statement of positive opinion (e.g., "I'd love to. . .")
2. Statement of empathy (e.g., "I realize you are in a difficult situation")
3. Pause fillers (e.g., "uhh," "well," "uhm")
4. Gratitude/appreciation

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Short Article

ENGLISH AS AN INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE (EIL): SMITH'S PHILOSOPHY OF ENGLISH FOR INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Yukihiro Nakayama

Introduction

The term "International English" first came to be frequently used in Japan in the late 1960's when intercultural contacts dramatically increased. It was, however, only in the middle 1970's that scholars began to carry out academic research on International English from the viewpoint of "English as an International Language." This short article reviews the philosophy of *English as an International Language (EIL)* advocated by Larry E. Smith, a Research Associate at the East-West Center, Hawaii, and highlights some important published works in the field.

English as a Second Language (ESL) and English as a Foreign Language (EFL)

Among the acronyms that have been created in English language education are: ESL, EFL, ESOL, ELT, EST, EAP, ESP. Of these the most common are ESL (English as a Second Language) and EFL (English as a Foreign Language), which are usually grouped together under the term ESOL (English to Speakers of Other Languages) or ELT (English Language Teaching).

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Marckwardt (1963: 25) states that when the term ESL is used, "the reference is usually to a situation where English becomes a language of instruction in the schools, as in the Philippines, or a lingua franca between speakers of widely diverse languages, as in India." Another type of ESL situation is observed in the USA. The overwhelming experience of the USA in teaching ESL "has been aimed at the linguistic and cultural assimilation into an English-language nation of indigenous groups and, more especially, of immigrants, having other languages as their mother tongue" (Strevens 1980: 92).

What is the concept of EFL? Marckwardt (1963: 25) states that EFL is "English taught as a school subject or on an adult level solely for the purpose of giving the student a foreign language competence which he may use in one of several ways – to read literature, to read technical works, to listen to the radio, to understand dialogue in the movies, to use the language for communication possibly with transient English or Americans." In short, English has been used for the purpose of absorbing the cultures of England and the USA.

English as an International Language (EIL) and English as an Auxiliary Language (EAL)

In their discussions together at the East-West Center, Marckwardt stated, in referring to the terms ESL and EFL, that he was "no longer satisfied with the terms and felt it was time we looked into the possibility of creating a new term which would more accurately reflect the present state of English language usage around the world" (Smith 1978: 5). In response Smith suggested *EIAL (English as an International Auxiliary Language) (EIL + EAL)*, (1976).

Smith (1976: 38) defined *EIL* operationally as English "which is used by people of different nations to commu-

nicate with one another," and wrote that "English is the most frequently used international language." On the other hand, he defined *EAL* operationally as English "which is used by nationals of a country for internal communication." and that "English also frequently serves this purpose."

In this paper Smith argued that "there is a single English language but many varieties" (38), and that "English can and should be de-nationalized" (41). His thesis is that we should explore the English language from the perspective of *EIAL*, not merely as ESL or EFL, largely an Anglo-American-dominated view of the language. He went so far as to say that "native speakers need as much help as non-natives when using English to interact internationally. There is no room for linguistic chauvinism" (1981a: 32).

Smith changed the acronym from *EIAL* (English as an International Auxiliary Language) to *EIIL* (English as an International and *Intra*national Language), but his thesis remained basically the same; his operational definition of English as an *Inter*national Language is English "which is used by people of different nations to communicate with one another," while English as an *Intra*national Language is English used by nationals of the same country for communication" (Smith 1978: 5; see Kachru and Quirk 1981).

English as an International Language (EIL)

Below are some of the distinctive features of EIIL which Smith instances, with special reference to *English as an International Language (EIL):* (1) The Purpose of Learning is international communication, (2) Medium of Communication is in spoken and written form, (3) Student Population is native and non-native speakers, (4) Language Interactions are between (a) native speakers of different nations, (b) native speakers and non-native speakers, and (c) non-native speakers of different nations, (5) Cultural Emphasis is on

cultures of specified countries, (6) Language Model is any "educated English," native or non-native, and (7) Performance Target is "intelligible English" and "appropriate English." (1976; 1978; 1981a and elsewhere).

In conclusion, Smith notes that the English language is now used most frequently as a medium of international communication, and advocates that native speakers as well as non-native speakers should be taught to interact effectively with one another. Noting that English is used for the following interactions: between (1) native speakers of different nations, (3) native speakers and non-native speakers, and (3) non-native speakers of different nations, the cultural emphasis should be placed on the cultures of specified countries in which the students are interested, or about which they have developed specific needs. The language model, the spoken and written text which is used in the classroom, can be any "educated English," either native or non-native, while the ultimate performance target should be intelligible and appropriate English.

Of particular interest in the references below may be the accounts of Smith's empirical research (see 1979; 1982ab; 1987b), edited academic texts (1981b, 1983) and his editorial contributions to the Journal, *World Englishes* (from 1985).

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Conference Proceedings

DISCOURSE COMPETENCE: ESSENTIAL BUT NEGLECTED

Jack Barrow

Language teachers have long known that linguistic competence is not enough to enable students to communicate effectively; utterances must also conform to sociolinguistic rules of a given language and follow the discourse structure underlying the text. Discourse competence concerns the relation of sentences to text as well as the wider social context. Processing and producing large chunks of discourse, such as reading and writing essays or maintaining a conversation is the basis of discourse competence.

Discourse structure is determined by the constraints of the speech act which means that knowledge of social context is vital in interpreting a text. This background or prior knowledge is central in language learning. One way of representing the background knowledge used in the understanding of production of discourse is frame or schema theory (Brown *et al.,* 1983) which proposes that knowledge is stored in memory in data structures called *frames,* which represent stereotyped situations and may constitute the underlying discourse of texts.

This area of discourse is often neglected in language programs, maybe on the assumption that parts of it, being easily transferable, are already understood by students. The problem is, however, that much instruction and analysis in language courses still resides in the purely linguistic realm of phonol-

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ogy and syntax with little concern being given to surrounding context. This suggests that students be taught using longer chunks of text, whether spoken or written, and traditional item analysis be subordinated to the text. In terms of teaching discourse, three general areas will be discussed: social context enrichment, sequencing practice, and pedagogical discourse.

1. Social Context Enrichment

In comprehension, the fewer contextual cues one has, the more one must rely upon linguistic cues to fathom the text. In other words, according to Cummins (1981), context-reduced learning results in slower, more cognitively demanding learning. In presenting the material, it is therefore beneficial to enrich the context. Here are some suggestions: a) Explain causal relations and motives. What caused something to happen and what were the intentions of those involved? b) Broaden students' understanding of the context by comparing and contrasting the L2 situation with their L1 experiences.

2. Sequencing Practice

Speech events have a beginning and an ending; while communicating, the participants must *negotiate* meaning in order to maintain the conversation.

Japanese students often feel very awkward when striking up a conversation and resort to personal questions too soon which can result in embarrassment and eventual breakdown. Accordingly, students should practice and rehearse non-personal opening gambits and the introduction of neutral topics.

Maintaining a topic can also be a very difficult task as it involves the complex interplay of various basic functions such

as stating and asking for opinions; clarifying; encouraging; requesting information; going back to the previous topic; closing or changing a topic (see the Conversation Maintenance Matrix).

It is my contention that students should practice these basic functions requiring them to maintain conversation within appropriate time spans, otherwise discourse competence will not develop.

Conversation Maintenance Practice

Greetings (Socializing)

Introducing a topic
(eye contact, ah, say)

Giving or getting info/advice/cooperation
Wh/question
Could/would/should . . .
I/you . . .
Is/are . . .

Stating or asking: opinion/emotion
Wh/question
Have/do you . . .
I/you . . .
This is/is this

Clarifying
Huh?
Wajyusay?
Do you mean . . .
Wh/question

Responding or encouraging
Uh huh
You're kidding
Oh yeah
That's (awesome)

Adding information
Yeah, and . . .
I know? also . . .
And then . . .
Dijyunodat . . .

Ending or changing a topic
Wh/question
When I . . .
Heckif/no

Sticking to a topic
Wait, wait!
That's different
That's not the point

Going back to a previous topic
Like I said before,
Do you remember . .
Before, you said . . .

Closing a conversation
Well, it's time to go
I've got to . . .
Give you a call
Take it easy
Don't do anything I wouldn't do

Note: These functions are interlinking as in a matrix.

3. Pedagogical Discourse

A commonly used technique in teaching is to break down a speech event into functions, practice each one, and then put it back together in linear fashion. Many notional-functional texts use this method. However, the discourse is poorly reassembled again in many of the texts and it may be necessary for the teacher to provide numerous role-playing situations which tie all the previously practiced functions back together. Often, a lack of time prevents the students from internalizing the functions entirely, so textbook writers resort to 'reminders' and 'games' in which students fill in forms and schedules. Actually, the students need a variety of situation practices, a kind of 'discourse drill', in which discourse patterns are practiced repeatedly and in various combinations. Also, as previously mentioned, communication involves the complex interplay of many functions. 'Discourse drills' are needed to teach the interlinking of various functions of language in order to develop the ability to maintain a conversation.

In composition, there is a similar situation: a very complex set of items which are time consuming to teach and learn. Just as in conversation, most teaching is done in a linear fashion, presenting highly simplified and structured models to be read and analyzed, and then mimicked, enabling students of differing abilities to perform satisfactorily. However, in many cases, a text containing only one style of writing, descriptive for example, does not occur. Just as in speaking, writing requires a myriad of styles, modes of development, support, and devices. (See Composition Matrix)

We need to increase students' awareness of others' desires, knowledge, expectations, and message. This can be done by considering reader-based coherence, that is, the effective interaction between reader and discourse.

A General Matrix for Composition

Narrative

- tells the story of events
- usually chronological
- purpose in mind; details selected

Descriptive

- commonly from general to spec.
- reader sees what writer describes
- spatial order

Analytical

- identifies features
- classifies in terms of them
- judges whether similar/different

Argumentation

- gives an opinion
- persuades using reasons/exam.
- info often arranged in terms of importance

Development: Chronological, Process, Extended Definition, Comparison/Contrast, Classification, Cause/Effect, Spatial

Support: Personal experience, facts, physical description, example, documents, statistics, authoritative sources

Devices: Modifiers, Metaphor, Simile, Personification, Definition, Documentation, Coherence devices: key words and phrases, pronoun referents, paragraph hooks, transitions

General Concepts: general/specific, topic/support, abstract/concrete, deductive/inductive, introduction (thesis)/body/conclusion

Common Approaches:

- paragraph → essay
- narrative → descriptive → expository → research paper
- personal writing → business/academic writing
- reading/analysis of model → selection of topic → prewriting organization (brainstorming) → purpose, thesis → outlining → first draft → analysis/revision

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USING THE TOEFL AT A JAPANESE UNIVERSITY

George H. Isted

The Problem

This paper discusses a program initiated at the International Buddhist University of Shitennoji Gakuen in Osaka, Japan. As might be judged from the name of our university, IBU aims at educating students to become international citizens, and a pillar to attaining this aim is the English language program. However, as might also be assumed from the name of our university, all students are not necessarily interested in studying English. Here, I would like to discuss a program begun to help realize the university's goal aimed at non-English major students; specifically students majoring in Buddhism, Japanese Studies, Education, Arabic Studies, and Sociology.

The first problem in starting an intensive English program was the marked lack of interest in English. This comes from several factors, including the loss of interest in English during prior educational experiences, being worn out from the extensive preparation in general, and a feeling on the part of students that English will not be of use to them in their future careers. We also found a general tendency for students to have no specific short range goal after passing their entrance examinations, leading to a general lack of interest in their

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studies, be they English or other subjects. In addition to student motivation problems, it was also apparent that there was no core to the English curriculum with some teachers teaching simplified high school level readers while others were teaching original Shakespeare works.

With these problems in mind, it was proposed that a standardized test be integrated into the curriculum. This standardized test could be seen as providing a short range goal for the students and a focus for their studies. It would also provide a centralized goal for the English program as a whole, encouraging teachers to teach towards a common objective. Furthermore, successful completion of the examination would give the students a valuable credential which might be useful when they set out to look for a job. Finally, the program would give the university a public relations tool by which to attract better quality students, allowing for an upgrading of the university's image as a whole.

The TOEFL

After considering the alternatives, including the TOEFL, TOEIC, STEP (Eiken), JACET, AREALS, Cambridge and Michigan tests, it was decided to employ the TOEFL as it is internationally recognized and could provide successful students with a useful credential as well as an incentive for further study abroad. Moreover, out of all the tests, the TOEFL seemed to be academically the best balanced. The structure of the TOEFL Test is shown below.

Table 1

Section I –	**Listening**
Part A	Short statements (20 questions)
Part B	Short conversations (15 questions)
Part C	Mini-talks and long conversations (15 questions)

Section II – Structure
- Part A — Identifying correct structures (15 questions)
- Part B — Error identification (25 questions)

Section III – Vocabulary and Reading
- Part A — Synonyms (30 questions)
- Part B — Reading comprehension (30 questions)

Section IV – Essay

An additional consideration was that the entire test could be administered in a single university class period of 90-100 minutes. Finally, there are numerous practice tests commercially available. These two points mean that an intensive incentive testing program could easily be set up and operated within the normal school schedule.

Scoring is based on a 700 point scale, with a base score of 200 points, derived by averaging a converted score from each section. The essays are graded on a scale of 1-7 and are not included in the main TOEFL score.

Although some overseas institutions will give provisional acceptance to foreign students with a score of 400 points, 450 points seems to be the standard minimum score for many U.S. colleges and universities, with 500 being the minimum for most. Only a few schools and graduate schools require more than 500 points. IBU therefore, set a final program goal of 500 points, expecting the students to attain at least 400 points by the end of their two year general education program, thus providing all students with the minimum credentials necessary for study in the United States from their junior year. Accordingly, the university allotted one class in the second year of the program specifically for TOEFL preparation.

Results

The program was begun by administering a mock TOEFL

examination in the first week of class, both to check the students' level and to give them a starting point with relation to their goal. The results showed an average class score of a mere 390, with only a few students scoring over 400 points. Over a three-year period, the test results of 2,370 students were analyzed and we found that the average increase in their overall test scores was to between 410 and 420, depending on major, with many students scoring above the 450 mark.

A more detailed analysis was made to see how students fared on each section of the test. The results are shown below.

Table 2

Listening Part A	20% correct
Listening Part B	27% correct
Listening Part C	27% correct
Structure Part A	40% correct
Structure Part B	32% correct
Vocabulary	33% correct
Reading Comprehension	33% correct
Essay	Not administered

The overall averages are shown in Table 3 below.

Table 3

Listening	390	28% correct
Structure	448	35% correct
Reading	400	33% correct

Analysis

As can be seen from the percentages of correct answers, the TOEFL proved far too difficult for our students, even though they were able to obtain adequate scores overall. An analysis of these scores and the question types they represent seems to indicate that the Japanese education system

fails to prepare students adequately to perform in many of these areas:

a. Listening for meaning
b. Listening to natural conversation (including reduced pronunciation, etc.)
c. Identification of speakers or locations of conversations
d. Error identification
e. Synonyms
f. Reading for meaning
g. Analysis of a reading passage
h. Self expression
i. Organizational strategies

Students seemed able to perform satisfactorily only in identification of correct grammatical structures. These aspects of language clearly need to be embodied in our curriculum if we are to help the students perform well on the TOEFL examination.

Further Considerations

In designing our curriculum, we looked at the many TOEFL preparation books on the market and were disappointed to find that most of them are mere collections of practice tests. Those that claim to be workbooks seem to stress grammar, the only aspect that is not included in the list above.

Conclusion

Using the TOEFL at IBU with non-English major students has been generally successful in consolidating the English program as a whole, improving student motivation, and providing a challenge. I believe that the motivation factor can best be encouraged by beginning with a TOEFL goal of, say 400 points, and raising the goal semester by semester

until a satisfactory level of, say 450, is achieved. However, there still remains much to be done in the field of creating an adequate curriculum and providing materials to further improve the benefits already attained.

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THE TEAM TEACHING METHOD: UTILIZING JAPANESE AND FOREIGN INSTRUCTORS EFFECTIVELY

Soo-im Lee (Reiko Takeo)

Introduction

The ideal teacher of English in Japan would be bilingual and understand both Japanese culture and the culture of the target language. If a teacher had these two qualities, the highest level of communication could be reached. However, in reality, such teachers are rare. For example, Japanese instructors often have difficulties producing natural pronunciation and intonation, giving examples of idiomatic expressions and explaining the underlying meaning of certain phrases. Although there are many well-trained native speaker English instructors in Japan, it has been found that many schools are employing teachers who have had no prior experience or training in ESL/EFL and often have only a limited knowledge of English grammar. In addition, many foreign intructors are unable to help a Japanese student, who is intimidated by the presence of a foreigner, feel relaxed.

Team Teaching

Using these observations on the state of English teaching in Japan and combining the benefits and strengths of having both foreign and bilingual Japanese instructors, we have developed an effective method of team teaching. Each session is com-

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posed of two fifty-minute classes with no more than six students in each session; a Japanese instructor teaches the first fifty minutes and is followed by a native speaker in the second half. During the ten-minute break between classes the Japanese instructor briefs the native speaking instructor on the materials covered in the textbook and teacher's manual, and ways of dealing with specific difficulties are discussed.

With team teaching the Japanese and foreign teachers use the same materials, but they each focus on different aspects of teaching English. The Japanese instructors give explanations of the grammatical points in the lesson, provide translation and prepare the students for the next hour with the native speaker. A better prepared student will be more comfortable with the native speaker instructor, since the same material will be covered. In the second hour the foreign instructor can focus on specific, identified difficulties as well as working on students' intonation, pronunciation and use of expressions. Also, it is during this part of the class that the students can experience communicating across cultural lines.

The Benefits of Utilizing Japanese Teachers

It is generally recognized that the skills of native speaker teachers, such as their fluent verbal ability and the fact that they can motivate the Japanese students to learn English, are valuable to English schools in Japan. It has been our experience, however, that Japanese instructors are equally important for an effective English program. As mentioned earlier, Japanese students tend to become shy and withdrawn in the presence of foreign teachers and often lack experience in exchanging ideas or opinions. With the Japanese teacher's help, the students can participate in the foreign teacher's class with less tension and more confidence. Japanese teachers can help their students to go beyond typical, mechanical responses to more creative and original interaction. We have

found that Japanese instructors are often able to help Japanese much more effectively by using a three-way attack strategy: role play breakdown, paraphrasing, and useful expressions.

The first technique involves breaking down everyday conversation situations into a series of steps. For example, in the case of a telephone conversation, the teacher can divide the situation into four steps and each part can then be studied systematically and in detail. Using the telephone call as an example, the steps would be: (1) asking for the person he would like to talk with, (2) starting the conversation, (3) explaining the reason for calling, and (4) ending the conversation. Possible expressions for each stage are taught by the instructor. We have found that students learning these procedures in a role play situation find it easier to develop and continue their conversations.

The second technique, paraphrasing, is used when a student is having difficulty translating a word or expression into English. It is best for the students if the Japanese teachers avoid giving translations too quickly. Instead, they teach the students to paraphrase or re-express the concept using simpler, alternative vocabulary. This technique is also appropriate for the student who is trying to express complex ideas with a limited knowledge of English grammar and vocabulary. For example, if the student is trying to say *futsukayoi* (hangover) and he doesn't know the word in English, the Japanese teacher can help the student paraphrase the word. The paraphrased word could be broken up into a couple of sentences such as "I drank too much sake last night. I feel sick now."

The third technique employed by the Japanese teachers is to emphasize expressions that are appropriate to classroom situations. For example, during the lessons the Japanese instructor might find repetition of the following expressions useful: (1) "I beg your pardon," (2) "Would you please repeat that question?," (3) "You speak too quickly for me, would

you slow down a bit?," (4) "I don't understand a word in your sentence." "What is . . .?," (5) "Would you tell me a similar word to . . ." If the students use these expressions skillfully, it should help them towards autonomy in language learning.

Conclusions

Most conversation schools tend to rely too heavily on their foreign teachers' verbal ability. While foreign teachers are very useful for teaching pronunciation, intonation and expressions, their greatest contribution is to increase their students' motivation to learn and to use English. Native speaker teachers are essential for English instruction in Japan, however the existence of good bilingual Japanese teachers should not be ignored. The integration of these two types of teachers can greatly facilitate any English program in Japan.

THE USE OF A RADIO ENGLISH PROGRAMME TO INCREASE STUDENTS' LISTENING TIME

Hisao Nishijima

Introduction

Every EFL teacher in Japan knows that the majority of Japanese students learning English are generally not exposed to enough spoken English. What can we teachers do to increase their listening time? I suggest that using a radio English conversation programme is probably one of the best and easiest ways of meeting this need. The programme I have in mind is NHK's 'Radio English Conversation' (英語会話) and I would recommend this programme for the following reasons. Firstly, conversations contained in the monthly textbook are 'natural' in that they are carried out at natural speed and are not based on grammatical points unlike the other NHK radio English programmes. (The students I teach have had at least six years of English education and most of them are rather tired of going through English grammar again.) Secondly, textbooks are easily obtained even at a small bookshop and they cost only 200 yen. When some comprehension difficulties arise, the students can always refer to the written text. Thirdly, they do not need a special short wave radio, just an ordinary radio is good enough to receive the programme. Fourthly, the programme is broadcast three times a day from Monday to Saturday, lasting fifteen minutes.

In the past, little consideration has been given to the use

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of a radio programme for students' English studies partly because ways of using the programme are usually left to the students to decide. The teacher who tells the students to listen to the programme does not always try to find out whether the students are really listening to it, how they are listening, or how much they are getting out of the programme if they do.

I would like to make some suggestions which students should keep in mind when they are working with the programme and some activities based on the programme that the teacher can use in class. The students need some incentives to continue listening. To help them listen to the programme continuously, the extent of their understanding and their progress must be constantly monitored in class.

Some Tips on Listening to the Programme at Home

A. Comprehension

1) Record the programme. Listen to the day's dialogue with the textbook closed. Do the same a few more times to see if your understanding of the dialogue improves.

2) When you encounter unknown words, you should first try to guess the meaning of them. Then you can proceed to look at the textbook or a dictionary. If there is no sign of improvement in understanding the conversation, you should look at the part of the text which is causing comprehension problems and should find which words or expressions are the problem. Repeat 2) and 3) several times until you grasp the general meaning of the dialogue.

B. Other Activities. Do one or more of the practices below *only after* you have grasped the general meaning of the dialogue.

1) a. Firstly, repeat after the native speakers (NSs) with the book open. Repeat the dialogue mentally. Secondly, repeat after them silently forming the words with

your mouth. Thirdly, repeat aloud after them.

b. Close the book and repeat after the NSs. If the students do not need the above exercise, they can omit it, or the order of the two exercises can be reversed.

c. Cover the left hand side of the English text and try to say the rest. Progressively cover the text as you memorize more.

d. Look at the Japanese sentences on the right hand side of the text and translate them back into English.

e. Check the accuracy of your pronunciation and intonation of the dialogue by saying the sentences ahead of the NSs, with the book closed and comparing yourself with the NS model.

f. Read the Japanese part and record it on cassette tape. While listening to it, interpret it into English, either consecutively or simultaneously.

2) Dictation

a. Transcribe the day's skit with the book closed, then check it.

b. Transcribe the small talk at the beginning and end of the programme.

3) Try to substitute as many words as possible using sentences in the day's skit as a basis.

4) Make dialogues using the day's key sentence or one of the expressions learned from the day's programme.

Activities Based on the Day's Dialogue

1) *Filling out blanks*

Using a cloze test format, have students fill out blanks while listening. Only the first short responses of each speaker's utterance can be made blank as a variation of this exercise. Japanese students often fall silent partly because of difficulties in finding the first short phrases. In this task students are required to choose appropriate replies from a list.

2) *Use of Communication Strategies (CSs)*

The students role-play the dialogue. When they encounter problems of any kind, as a result of inattention or lack of understanding, they should try to solve them by making use of Css, for example, asking the other partner to repeat the part which seems to be causing him problems; asking him to rephrase a particular word; asking him to say a particular sentence in a different way; asking for the pronunciation or spelling of a word or phrase; paraphrasing; exemplification. Even if they have listened to the programme and know the meanings of the words in the text, they can always practice using various CSs to check their partner's knowledge.

As a variation, cut out the day's dialogue and paste each speaker's part on a piece of paper. Place all the cards of Speaker A's utterances with the first sentence at the top of the stack and do the same with the other speaker's cards. Working in pairs, students are encouraged to use CSs as they read out the dialogue.

3) *Rearrangement*

Cut out all the speakers' parts and stick each of them on a piece of paper. Mix them up. Groups of two or three students try to arrange them in the right order.

As a variation, the above pieces of paper can be mixed with sentences taken out of another days' skit to make the practice more difficult.

4) *Chain story*

Groups of three or more make up a story, using the words, mainly content words or expressions in the day's skit. A group leader tells the story to the class. This practice can be done by the whole class. The teacher gives a different word taken out of the day's dialogue to each student. The class creates sentences that would form one story.

5) *More sentences*

Divide the class into two teams. The teacher gives each

team one word from the day's skit. Their task is to create as many sentences as possible, using the given item. They are given a time-limit, for example, five minutes. After the time is up, a student from each team reads out their sentences aloud. The teacher checks them for grammaticality. The team which has the most new sentences wins the game.

6) *Dictation check*

Outside the class the students transcribe the small talk at the beginning or end of the programme or the brief outline of the day's skit. They check each other's dictation in class. The teacher writes down on the board the words they have picked up. The words are written in such a way that their positions show the places where they are supposed to be when the whole transcription is written out.

7) *Creation of new sentences*

One student produces a sentence using one of the words or expressions and whispers it to his neighbour. Then the neighbour puts it into Japanese and gives it to the person sitting next to him. It follows this pattern up to the last person (Eng → Jp → Eng → . . . . Jp → Eng). If the last person gets a Japanese sentence, he translates it into English. They compare the first student's sentence with the last one's to see how similar or distorted it is.

8) *Setting up new contexts*

Using the key sentence of the day's skit, have the students think of other contexts relevant to their experience in which the key sentence of the day's skit can be used. For example, ask your students to invent different situations to which the expression "It seems like an easy way out" (from the skit broadcast on November 10, 1986) applies. A student may say, for example, "You were late for class because you slept in. But you say to the teacher that you got stuck in the lift and had to call someone for help."

9) *Follow-up dialogues*

The teacher invents a situation related to part of the programme's conversation. For example, in the Nov. 12 skit Mitsuo's bike is missing, so a situation like the one below can be created. For example, "Mitsuo goes to the police and gives the registration number to them. At the police station he describes his bike." Groups of students make up dialogues based on the given situation.

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NHK Radio *Eigokaiwa* (English Conversation), November Issue, 1986

TEXT, CONTEXT, AND LANGUAGE TEACHING: A SYSTEMIC-FUNCTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Peter H. Ragan

Introduction

When we discuss features of language for purposes of communicative language teaching (CLT), the eclectic but traditional model of language we employ limits us to a concern with form. The widely received dichotomy that holds between form and function, usage and use, accuracy and fluency and similar pairs of supposedly polar opposites (cf. Widdowson, 1978; Rodgers, 1983; Raimes, 1983; Brumfit, 1984) is evidence for the difficulty language teachers have in relating the wording of text to the communicative context on which it is dependent. This is a consequence of the misconception that the form of a text cannot be related systematically to the context in which it is used.

A more useful model for the description of language for CLT is available. The systemic-functional model developed by M.A.K. Halliday (1985a, 1985b, 1985c) allows us to relate the context in which language is used to the text which operates in the context. Text is the combination of grammatical and lexical features which we can refer to as *wording*. In this abridgement of my presentation at JALT '86 for the colloquium on 'Learning Spoken and Written Language', I wish to introduce the systemic-functional model (SFM) and briefly consider some insights it provides into the nature of language in use.

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The Bridging Role of SFM

CLT is commonly associated with functions, use, and fluency. Meaningful and appropriate verbal communication, however, relies on a successful encoding of language, which generally leads to a concern with form, usage, and accuracy.

This concern is the basis for the self-limiting attempts in many CLT materials to link wording to functions, which are interpreted after Halliday's original conception of functions (1973) as the uses to which language is put. Examples of this include *agreeing* and *disagreeing, classifying, comparing*, and the like.

Such functions are typically linked semantically but arbitrarily to wording. For example, in one popular writing textbook (McKay and Rosenthal, 1980) students learn to encode the function *analysis* for scientific writing by using the passive voice and for describing location by using the vocabulary of spatial relationship.

Such presentations are useful but are ultimately frustrated by the multitude of purposes for which language is used *and* by the unsystematic manner in which form has been related to function. The SFM resolves this impasse by interpreting functional variation not just in *register* – variation in the use of language – but also in *lexicogrammar* – the coding of language. It incorporates two concurrent interpretations of function: function as the use to which language is put in context, and function as the reflection of that use in the wording of text. This dual interpretation facilitates the relation of context and text which has otherwise eluded CLT.

We commonly experience the evidence for this relation between wording and successful communication of meaning using language in particular contexts. It is generally not difficult to recognize the variety of texts we encounter as belonging to particular contexts. Conversely, in a familiar context we can normally predict the kind of text that will

be produced.

This is simply demonstrated: give your students a few lines of the transcription of a conversation between a doctor and the patient she is examining and ask them what the context is. Alternatively, have them write or act out the possible exchange between a shopkeeper and a customer seeking a particular product. This relation between context and text is most apparent in language which is highly contextualized but operates in spoken and written modes encompassing different genres and purposes, including academic discourse.

How does the SFM describe context and text?

A situational context can be described in terms of what is taking place, or *field*; in which language plays a part; *mode* – what part, written or spoken, the language is playing in this activity; *tenor* – who is taking part and the relationship between them; and *purpose* – what language is being used to accomplish.

The SFM describes the wording of spoken and written texts as well as the situational context. Wording is linguistically described as encoding three kinds of meaning, referred to as *meta-functions*. The three kinds of meaning are *textual, interpersonal,* and *ideational*. Textual meaning is the message focus of the clause, encoded as thematic structure. Interpersonal meaning is the encoding of exchange in the clause as mood structure. Ideational meaning is the representation of reality in the sense of content, encoded as transitivity structure.

They are called meta-functions because they form the basis for the semantic organization of all natural languages. They are derived from systems of choices available in the language code and are semantically related to the uses to which language is put in situational contexts. They occur simultaneously in text, that is, the meaning of text is derived from the encoding of all three of these structures at the same time.

Proceduralism in Action

The text–context relationship can be illustrated with an example of the procedural register. A set of instructions is highly contextualized and readily exemplifies this relation as such text often involves using language to direct action within some environment.

I have involved university students in Singapore in a task-based communicative language learning activity using procedural texts. They communicate sets of instructions to each other for the purpose of constructing a design using coloured, wooden blocks. Here are two clauses taken from the set of instructions which initiates one such activity that illustrates the functional nature of wording.

Figure 1: An Analysis of Wording in Two Clauses

1. *This design will have four sides.*

Theme	Rheme			(TEXTUAL)
Mood		Residue		(INTERPERSONAL)
Subject	Finite	Predicator	Complement	
participant	process		participant	(IDEATIONAL)

2. *Line up the red block against the right side of the white block.*

Theme	Rheme		(TEXTUAL)
	Residue		(INTERPERSONAL)
Predicator	Complement	Adjunct	
process	participant	circumstance	(IDEATIONAL)

Textual meaning is encoded through thematic structure as the MESSAGE focus of the clause – the Theme is that part of the clause which encodes what the speaker/writer wants to tell the listener/reader. In the first example, the Theme is the nominal group *this design*. In the imperative clause, it encodes

what the speaker or writer wants you to do. Thus in the second example, the Theme is the imperative verbal group *line up*. Theme is realized as the first ideational element of the clause. In terms of grammatical classes, Themes may be encoded as nominal groups, prepositional phrases, adverbials, and imperative verbal groups.

Interpersonal meaning is realized through mood structure as EXCHANGE between speaker/writer and listener/reader. This is the encoding of the four primary speech functions of offer, command, statement, and question. The Mood function is encoded as Subjects and Finites (such as *did, can,* and *will,* the simple past and present of *be* and *have,* or an element fused with a Predicator such as *goes*). This is where polarity (yes-no) and modality (the intermediate degrees between the positive and negative poles) are found.

In the first example above, we have a statement with the Mood function encoded as Subject and Finite – *this design will.* The second example is a command whose mood structure is encoded as the Residue function only, comprising a Predicator, Complement and Adjunct.

Ideational meaning is realized through transitivity structure as the REPRESENTATION of reality. This is what is usually understood as content. It encodes process – what is going on – as verbal groups, participants in the process as nominal groups, and circumstances associated with the process as adverbial groups and prepositional phrases.

In the first example there are two participants, *this design* and *four blocks,* and the process *will have.* In the second example there is the process *line up,* a participant *the red block,* and the circumstance *against the right side of the white block.*

Now let's link text and context by analyzing only Themes in this set of intructions, which comprises 25 sentences and leads to the construction of a rectangular design using 6 coloured blocks.

Figure 2: A Set of Instructions

(1) You are going to make a design using coloured blocks.
(2) This design will have four sides.
(3) The opposite sides will be equal in length.
(4) Take one red and one white block.
(5) Put their long sides together so that they match up evenly.
(6) Line up the red block against the right side of the white block.
(7) Place them flat in the middle of the table with their short sides closest to you.
(8) Take a black block from the remaining unused blocks.
(9) Put one of its long sides against the sides of the white and red blocks closest to you.
(10) Take another white block from the unused blocks.
(11) Place one of its long sides against the side of the black block closest to you.
(12) Now take the remaining black block.
(13) Line up one of its long sides against the right side of the red block in your design.
(14) Now take the last block, which is yellow.
(15) Place it in the open right corner of your design.
(16) One of its long sides should be placed against the short sides of a black and a white block.
(17) Its short side farthest from you should be up against the short side of a black block.
(18) Now let's check your design.
(19) We will start from the farthest left corner of the design and proceed to the right.
(20) The three blocks, in order, are white, red,and black.
(21) The remaining three blocks are, from left to right, black over white, and then yellow.
(22) Together, these six blocks form a design with four sides.
(23) Its longest side is the length of two blocks.
(24) Its shortest side is the width of three blocks.
(25) The design is a red, white, black and yellow rectangle.

When the Themes of this text are grouped together according to the ideational topics they refer to, some very interesting patterns emerge. These lead us back to the context in which this text is found. We can identify four topics for the Themes

of the finite clauses in these 25 sentences: the topics of reader/writer, procedure, blocks, and design.

Figure 3: Topical Themes in the Set of Instructions

Reader/ Writer	Procedure	Blocks	Design
1. you			2. this design
			3. the opp. side
	4. take		
	5. put		
	6. line up		
	7. place		
	8. take		
	9. put		
	10. take		
	11. place		
	13. line up		
	14. take	14a. which	
	15. place		
		16. one of its long sides	
		17. its short side	
18. let's			
19. we			
		20. the three blocks	
		21. the rem. three blocks	
			22. together
			23. its longest side
			24. its shortest side
			25. the design

First of all, this pattern of Themes reveals the method of development of the text. There is an orientation section where the message focus is on the reader and the design as a whole in sentences 1–3. Next comes the mandatory procedural section: the grouping of procedural Themes as imperative process in sentences 4–15, and references to blocks in sentences 14, 16 and 17 in expansion of preceding procedure clauses. The com-

pletion of the instructions on how to place the 6 blocks occurs in sentence 17 and is followed by a recapitulation section where the message focus is on reader and writer in sentences 18–19, to blocks in sentences 20–21 and to the design again in sentences 22–25.

Secondly, we can derive the situational context from this text. The purpose it is carrying out, to instruct in the placement of blocks, is seen in the wording. The wording is derived from the contributing features of register – field, mode, and tenor.

There is evidence for field in the lexical items *design, sides, take, put, line up, place, blocks,* and so on. That the mode is written can be seen in the simple clause structures which rely on nominal groups to convey much of the meaning (q.v. Halliday, 1985c). Tenor can be seen in the references to encoder and decoder in the Themes. The interpersonal relationship between them can be seen in the mood structure encoded as clauses of command and statement.

Mood and transitivity can be analyzed in a similar way. Using the SFM, further analysis of texture could be carried out – the structural and cohesive features that characterize text – in terms of information structure and focus (Given and New) and cohesion. In this brief introduction, however, I have performed only a limited thematic analysis to indicate the potential of the SFM to contribute to our understanding of the context–text relationship.

A more extensive systemic-functional analysis and comparison of texts by native speakers and second language learners of different levels of proficiency provide some important insights for language teaching:

1. Despite the diversity evident in the way texts are encoded, texts may be traced and related to the contexts in which they communicate meaning. There is a form–function relation. Students need to study the features of context more closely and be made aware of the options available to them as

examples of wording which can encode the text–context relationship.

2. The multi-functional nature of wording is apparent and important. It is possible, for example, to look at Themes and see features of mood and transitivity as well, and *vice versa*, since three kinds of meaning co-exist in the structure and lexis of language as message, interpersonal, and ideational meta-functions. The same lexical items in most cases encode or contribute to the encoding of more than one functional element in the grammar and thereby to the meaning of the text. This is an undeniable feature of language: grammatical structures and lexical items have more than one function in the realization of meaning. Awareness of this feature should guide our preparation of materials and syllabuses and be brought out by our communicative methodologies.

3. We see evidence in all texts for the remarkable diversity and creativity that mark language in use. The SFM of language identifies the options that contribute to this diversity. Our students also display such variety in their encoding of meaning. When a text deviates from our expectations (since our students do not have full command of the language code), our lexicogrammatical interpretation of the text must question its appropriateness for its context, since a functional description of wording is related to language use.

We need to consider how to stimulate the encoding and decoding of text with an emphasis on the communication of meaning in context. We also need to identify which methods of development, which choices of thematic, mood, ideational, information structures and cohesive devices warrant our students' attention. We do this to ensure the text–context relation so that our students can learn spoken and written language more effectively.

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ENGLISH FOR TRANSLATION

Candace Séguinot

When I was preparing for my trip to Japan, I read a guidebook for tourists. The book recommends that people who don't know Japanese use phrase books to learn enough of the language to get around but adds

> The only objection to. . .phrase books is that they are too correct. As a result, many phrases for even simple everyday needs come out rather long, and tourists have trouble remembering them. It is best to dispense with nonessentials. . . . Why should you care if you speak pidgin Japanese? Everyone knows you're a foreigner. . . . If you are worried about sounding too blunt or uncouth, you can always accompany your speech by a nice, friendly smile, and the Japanese will know that you're trying hard and they will readily forgive your grammatical lapses. (Namioka, 1979)

If we analyze this advice in the terms provided by Corder (1983) and Faerch and Kasper (1983), we see that the author is suggesting both a *learning strategy,* that is a way for the learner to build up or expand an *interlanguage,* and a *communicative strategy,* which is a way to compensate for inadequate language resources. The reader who has not studied Japanese is asked to realize that he or she will face problems, and should therefore develop a *systematic technique* for dealing with them. Two techniques in fact – a *formal reduction*

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strategy to *avoid error* and to *facilitate communication* and the use of a *co-operative strategy* – smiling.

This example illustrates some of the problems with strategy research. More specifically, strategy research deals largely with ESL in an institutional setting, and the recommendations that strategies be overtly taught in the classroom assume that they remain constant across programmes and levels. As the discussion which follows attempts to show, this is not necessarily the case.

As ESL classes for immigrants develop functional curricula, teachers are faced with an ironic dichotomy of language teaching versus social integration: the most effective means to a goal of integration may not involve the use of language. The language teacher may choose or be given a role of facilitator, pairing native English speakers with foreign or second language students, or arranging outings, to encourage language practice and acculturation. Students are given maps and asked to *use* the public transit system, not sit and practice drills about it. In other words, in reception classes there is a movement to teaching coping strategies, whether or not language is involved. It may in fact be difficult to predict what functions or notions will be needed by a mixed class of immigrants beyond the coping stage.

In ESP classes it is easier to predict the need for specific notions or functions. Vocabulary can be field restricted, and grammatical structures can be chosen to reflect those most frequently encountered in the profession or area of study. There is a wonderful example of how this selection works in the English reservation form sent out by the Japanese Inn Group; the form asks the prospective guest to please ask their questions in the order and form written on the brochure when calling to make reservations.

Academic English is a little more difficult to characterize. Preparation for college or university studies is task-oriented: the organization of essays and reports is generally part of the

curriculum. In response to research which has shown that preoccupation with surface accuracy can interfere with the production of effective writing (see Flower and Hayes (1980) for first language composing, and Jones (1980) for ESL writers), ESL classes in North America have taken an English-across-the-curriculum approach. This means that students are encouraged to work at their intellectual level on tasks similar to those of the disciplines they will encounter outside their language classes. The strategies of the academic English class encourage the creative use of limited resources. If the argumentative structure of an essay is well conceived, the accuracy of vocabulary or grammatical structures may receive less attention. It is here that Corder's advice about the need to teach resource expansion strategies rings truest.

However, just as the reduction strategies recommended by my guidebooks are inappropriate to teach a language for academic purposes, it seems clear that strategies taught either directly or indirectly in university language courses are not necessarily appropriate for students who go on to study translation.

There is some indication that the effectiveness of the use of strategies varies with language proficiency. One of the pioneering studies on language learning strategies (Bialystok 1979: 387) found that ". . .in Grade Ten greater overall use of the strategies is associated with achievement while in Grade Twelve the effects of the various strategies become more specialized." Bialystok also noted that achievement on formal tasks is modified by knowledge of the specific tasks, not by general exposure to language. This agrees with the findings of Smelcer *et al.* (1980) who found that a number of subjects who had rated their knowledge of French as excellent did not perform well on a simultaneous interpretation task, something for which they had no training. The experimenters also concluded that subjects focused too much on grammatical correctness, meaning that they did not cover the content

adequately, because their foreign language classes had trained them to pay too much attention to minor grammatical details.

From what is known about successful language learners, certain types of people are likely to make better translators than others; Naiman, Fröhlich *et al.* (1975). According to Nation and McLaughlin (1986), the more experienced language learner seems to have the ability to abstract structural information implicitly from linguistic stimuli without prompting. There may also be some predisposition to one of the two types of translation, see Larson (1984), though other theorists link this distinction to the search for formal and dynamic equivalence to task types; Nida (1964) and Newmark (1981).

Translation theory also tells us that translators vary procedures according to the type of text and that students of translation need to learn to make certain responses automatic; Nida (1964), Vinay and Darbelnet (1977). As Nation and McLaughlin have noted (1986), automatic processing frees the language user to apply controlled processing to higher-order tasks.

The fact that translation students need to develop automatic responses explains why creative strategies that are taught in programmes for academic English may be inappropriate. Students must value meaning over form, but must also aim for accuracy – and that within strict time limits. That is why translation programmes turn to non-communicative exercises like paraphrasing, rewriting, summary writing, précis writing, and directed reading which seem to produce strategies more appropriate to translation.

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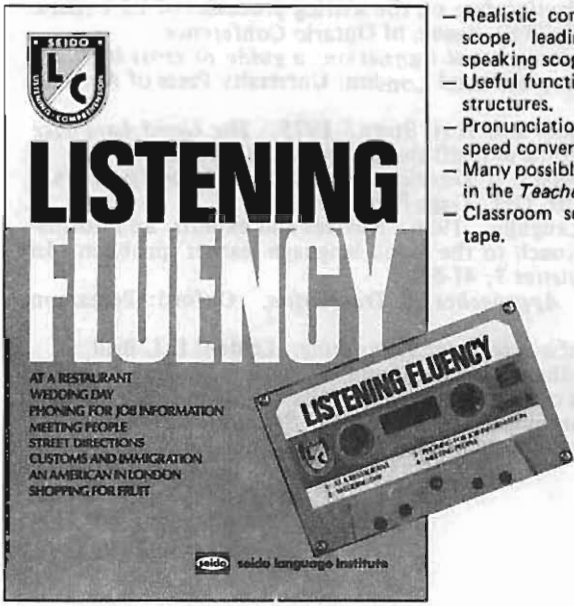

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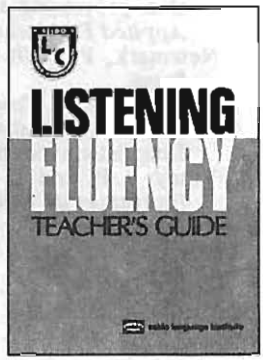

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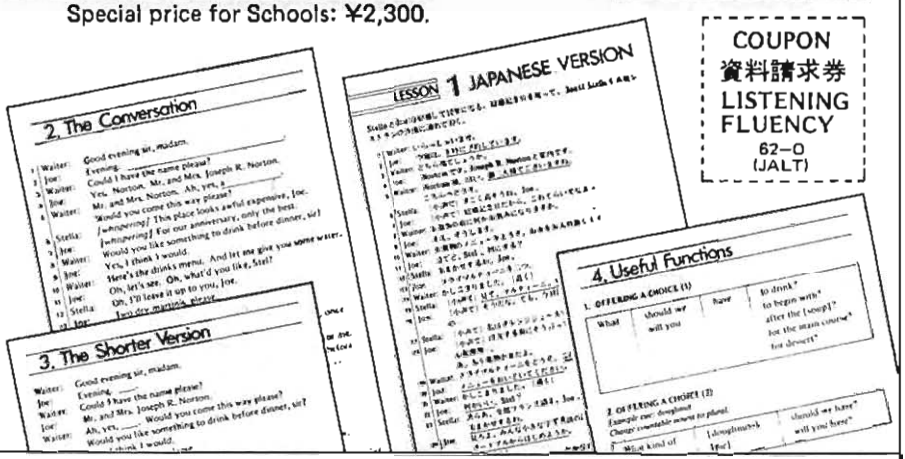

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TEACHING INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION TO STUDENTS OF ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE IN JAPAN

John Ratliff

This presentation examines the use of intercultural communication as a teaching format for intermediate and advanced English classes in Japan. It is based on two years of teaching intercultural communication to high intermediate level English students at Sundai ELS Language Center in Tokyo.

Intercultural Communication and Cultural Awareness

Intercultural communication is defined as the study of communication that takes place between people from different cultures. It deals not only with the patterns of behavior within various cultures, but also examines the new forms of behavior that emerge when people from different cultural backgrounds interact. The field of intercultural communication derives its theoretical framework from many disciplines, including anthropology, linguistics, communication, psychology and sociology. But the actual development of the field in the United States dates from the early 1960's, when the problems of such groups as Peace Corps volunteers, American businessmen being posted overseas, and foreign students trying to adjust to life in the United States created the need for an effective method of improving communication across cultures. Since then, the field has developed steadily, both

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theoretically and practically. Specifically, the teaching of intercultural communication has been moving from an academic comparison of the traits of various cultures towards a focus on the development of the student's general level of *cultural awareness.*

The inculcation of cultural awareness typically goes through several stages. First comes a growing awareness of culture and the way it affects human behavior. Different groups, in different situations, are shown to have provided for the universal needs of human beings in different, but equally valid, ways. One of the basic principles of intercultural communication is that no set of solutions is intrinsically "right" or "wrong" – only different. Each set of solutions, that is, each culture, has its own inherent logic, which can be best understood through an approach of *non-judgmental observation:* asking "what" and "how," rather than "why," and resisting the temptation to make immediate comparisons with one's mother culture.

Non-judgmental observation helps the student to overcome feelings of *ethnocentrism*, that is, the belief that the solutions of one's own culture are "natural" and "common sense," and would be seen as such by any reasonable, sensitive person. Each culture has its own characteristic form of ethnocentrism: for example, one merely has to compare the widespread belief in the United States that "everybody should learn English" with the equally ethnocentric belief on the part of many Japanese that "no foreigner can really learn Japanese."

Another aspect of growing cultural awareness involved in overcoming ethnocentrism is developing a *tolerance* of the *ambiguity* inherent in cross-cultural situations. Gradually one can gain the comfort necessary for *empathy* with and *respect* for the thoughts, feelings and aspirations of people from cultures very different from one's own.

When introducing these ideas to students, they are first asked to examine their own culture, in this case Japanese

culture, and then make comparisons with the target culture, which for the sake of this presentation will be assumed to be American. In doing this, the skill of non-judgmental observation is introduced. For example, the issue of stereotypes could first be raised by asking students about stereotypes within Japanese culture: for example, what stereotypes do Kanto people have of Kansai people, and vice versa? The lesson could then progress to stereotypes of Americans held by Japanese. The instructor might then reveal some of his or her own stereotypes of Japanese and what he or she has done to deal with them. This sort of discussion obviously requires a comfortable, non-threatening atmosphere in which the instructor provides a model of the non-judgmental, reflective listener who is also prepared to take risks in looking at his or her own beliefs and behavior.

TESOL and Communication Style

The usefulness of intercultural communication training in teaching English to speakers of other languages is clear. For both the ultimate goal is the development of effective communication. But it is important to note that problems of communication across cultures are often blamed on linguistic misinterpretations, when the misunderstanding or misbehavior more likely resides elsewhere: in the subtler but consistent patterns of behavior which become understandable when we appreciate differences in cultural values. In this sense, it becomes clear that one cannot become fluently bilingual without at the same time becoming *bicultural*, which involves taking on a second identity, a new personality.

Anyone bilingual in Japanese and English is particularly aware of the changes in personality that occur when switching from one language to the other. This is a reflection of the radically different *communication styles* of Japanese and American cultures. Generally, the most important aim of

communication in English is to convey clear and concise information about the speaker's opinions, desires, or mental or emotional states; Japanese communication style is more attuned to interpersonal harmony. For example, I have noted the consternation created when Japanese are first confronted by what for most Americans are quite ordinary and useful questions: "What do you think?," "What do you mean?," "What do you want?," and "How do you feel?" These questions call for a highly individualistic and verbal style of communication – for Americans "natural," for Japanese exceedingly strange.

It is essential for the teacher of intercultural communication to Japanese EFL students – indeed, any sojourner in Japan – to become thoroughly familiar with the basic differences in communication styles. Highly recommended for more on this subject is Ramsey and Birk (1983).

Teaching Intercultural Communication in Japan

The development of cultural awareness is demanding, sometimes frightening and painful, requiring the abandonment of the security of ethnocentric beliefs and the development of personal flexibility and a willingness to take risks. This is a challenge for anyone, but particularly for someone from Japan. Many of the basic values of Japanese culture, such as the sharp demarcation between *uchi no* and *soto no* (inside and outside), the sense of the uniqueness and infallibility of the Japanese culture and language – in short, those values characterized in Japanese as *shimaguni konjo*, ("island-country way of thinking") – tend to deny even the theoretical possibility of the development of genuine biculturalism. One is either 'in' or 'out.'

At the same time that these factors make the development of cultural awareness more difficult for Japanese, they also make it a potentially liberating process. For some Japanese,

a glimpse of this potential to experience a kind of internal freedom literally inconceivable within the confines of their own culture, serves as a powerful motivation to undertake the tremendous effort necessary to learn English. The Japanese students whom I have known to be most successful in learning English have been motivated by some form of this vision. A class in intercultural communication, if effectively organized around the cultural awareness model outlined above, has the potential to enlighten both student and teacher.

Teaching Technique

The practical limitations inherent in the typical teaching situation here in Japan are formidable. Intercultural interaction, except that of the teacher with the students, remains largely an abstraction for most students. In the case of the typical college-age student, the relative lack of maturity and passive attitude toward education only add to the problem.

This necessitates an emphasis on developing the students' awareness of Japanese culture, which can be done through observation, interview and role playing techniques. This can be interesting and enlightening to the students who, typically, have a low awareness of Japanese culture and the extent to which it shapes their lives. One of the most successful activities I tried was having my students interview their parents about how things had changed in Japan since they were teenagers, then make a report on the interview in English. In most cases this was the first time the students had talked of such matters with their parents, and it often gave them a personal insight into the social and historical changes in post-war Japan, as well as a glimpse into the attitudes and aspirations of their parents. Students can be empowered by becoming "expert" observers of their own culture.

When moving to the area of cross-cultural comparision,

there is a wealth of authentic American cultural material in Japan with which students are familiar, especially movies and popular music. Generally, however, they experience these things totally at the level of *spectacle*, not as something that relates to the realities of their own existence. Attempting to develop the qualities of empathy and respect is the key here. For example, I showed my students the recent American film *Mask*. We then used it as a basis for a discussion comparing and contrasting the modes of parent-child communication as well as attitudes toward the handicapped in Japan and the U.S. I've also used the songs of people like Bruce Springsteen and Billy Joel to illustrate the American emotional landscape. One student remarked: "I never knew the music I was listening to talked about people like me."

I also had the students go out into the streets of Tokyo in teams and interview English-speaking foreigners, asking them about their lives here and their attitudes toward Japan. This was the most popular single activity. Students said it really helped them in overcoming their fear of speaking English with native speakers: "I could talk to ordinary foreigners, not just English teachers."

It should again be emphasized that for this kind of class to be successful, the teacher must take pains to be a good role model of cultural awareness. Non-judgmental listening, tolerance of ambiguity, and, above all, showing respect are essential for the teacher of intercultural communication. The Japanese are acutely sensitive to our judgment of them. I sometimes think the most important thing to many of my students is to feel that I like them. This issue cannot be overstressed.

The course I taught had a syllabus of ten weeks, each week based on a chapter from Levine and Adelman's *Beyond Language* (1982), which I recommend for use with an intermediate or advanced class. The intercultural role plays were particularly effective. The chapter are set up functionally:

introductions, verbal patterns, nonverbal communication, personal relationships, family values, educational attitudes, work values, time and space patterns, cultural conflict and cultural adjustment. I also used Condon and Kurata's *What's Japanese about Japan* (1974) as a basis for discussion of Japanese culture; I liked the book, but my students complained that it was too old-fashioned. I used many articles from *The Japan Times, Time* and *Newsweek* on life in Japan and the U.S. I also strongly recommend Condon and Yousef (1975), Gaston and Clark (1984), and Kohls (1979) for valuable expositions of intercultural communication theory, and Ramsey and Birk (1983) for an excellent contrastive analysis of the communications styles of Japanese and Americans.

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COGNITIVE STRATEGIES OF JAPANESE STUDENTS*

Linda Viswat
Cathy Duppenthaler
Natsumi Onaka

Introduction

The critical importance of learning strategies in second language learning has long been recognized. It is no exaggeration to say that students of similar linguistic ability will differ in linguistic performance according to the efficiency of their learning strategies.

Learning strategies can be divided roughly into three groups: metacognitive, cognitive, and functional (socio-affective and communicative). Cognitive strategies have been broadly defined by Gagne (1977) as "skills with which learners regulate or modulate their internal processes of (1) attending and selective perceiving; (2) coding for long-term storage; (3) retrieval; and (4) problem solving." Cognitive strategies are the tools which enable students to become autonomous learners. They are the skills which students possess which regulate how they learn, how they remember,

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how they analyze and solve problems, and how they recall previously learned information. To the extent that students use cognitive strategies effectively, they become more efficient learners.

Metacognitive strategies are those which the learner uses to plan for learning. They include such functions as advanced planning, monitoring, self-evaluation, and selective attention. These strategies are powerful tools because they mean that the learner is in charge of deciding what, and to what extent, she will learn.

Bialystok's model of language acquisition (1978) provides a good basis for demonstrating that the conscious use of learning strategies is an essential part of language learning. She outlines three types of knowledge which the learner brings to the learning task: explicit linguistic knowledge, in current jargon, language which is learned; implicit linguistic knowledge, language which is acquired; and a general knowledge of the world. The type of strategy which a learner uses in any given situation depends on the type of knowledge required to complete a task.

Drawing on Bialystok's model of language acquisition it is possible to conceive of the schema shown in Figure 1.

Research in the area of learning strategies has concentrated primarily on language learning in an ESL context with scant attention having been paid to how they operate in an EFL situation. O'Malley and Chamot (1985) point out that "strategies introduced in a formal setting can contribute to implicit linguistic knowledge, and therefore to the students' ability to comprehend and produce spontaneous language." (559). This has particular significance in an EFL learning setting where the amount of input is limited, and where most language is introduced within the confines of the classroom.

Our research was undertaken with the aim of trying to determine the types of cognitive and metacognitive strategies which good language learners in Japan use. In particular

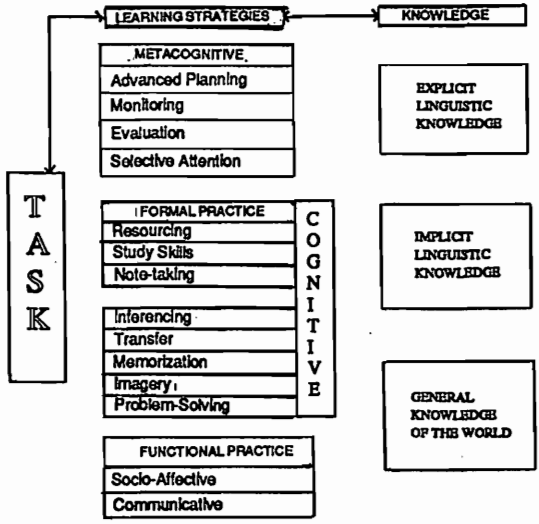

Figure 1

we were interested to find out if there are strategies which good language learners use which seem to be contrary to what is generally expected or indeed taught in schools, given that most language training in Japan is still done by the traditional grammar-translation approach. Despite the lack of emphasis on teaching communicative skills, some students do in fact acquire a certain degree of communicative competency in English. Is there anything about the way they approach the learning task which differs from students who are unable to communicate effectively?

Subjects

Our research population consisted of 38 students at a girls' high school in Osaka. All of the subjects were in their last year of senior high school. This particular age group was selected because we felt that older students would be more cognizant of their own learning strategies.

In this particular high school there are four classes at each grade level. Our population consisted of approximately equal numbers of students from the highest and lowest classes, the students being chosen randomly on the basis of student numbers: even-numbered students were selected from the high class and odd-numbered students from the lower class. Students who had lived abroad were excluded from the study.

Methods

The purpose of this study was to identify the learning strategies of successful learners of EFL. We hoped to be able to correlate the use of certain strategies with English oral proficiency.

To measure the students' language ability the following instruments were used:

1. The John Test: an oral placement test based on a series of pictures. It contains three parts, each of which tests a different skill. Part I tests aural comprehension. Students are directed to look at the pictures and are asked questions about them. Part II measures the ability of the students to produce connected discourse in the form of the past tense narrative. Part III tests the student's ability to ask questions. Directions for these questions range from "Ask me his name," to "Ask me what he would like to do when he finishes school."

2. The average of the results of the term-end exam scores in English for all three terms of the previous year and the first term of the current year; we wanted to see if there would be a correlation between achievement as measured by school tests and students' oral abilities.

To evaluate the students' strategies the following instruments were used:

1. A student questionnaire in Japanese which contained

questions designed to elicit information on study habits. We focused on 12 categories of language learning activities. For example, in the memorization category questions such as the following were asked: "When I have to memorize, I try to use word association or mnemonic devices." and "Memorization of patterns and words is a useful tool in learning English." In the self-monitoring category, the following types of questions were posed: "I always make an effort to use correct English pronunciation." and "In class I try to respond mentally to all the questions posed by the teacher."

2. A teacher questionnaire was used in order to check the validity of the student responses as well as to collect information on the student's classroom behavior. Teachers were asked: if the student seemed interested in English; if the student used reference books in and out of class; if the student asked questions of the teacher outside of class; if the student paid attention to her own and other students' answers; and so forth.

3. An interview in Japanese covering study habits and cognitive strategies was used to get open-ended answers to some of the questions the students had been asked in the questionnaire. Some of these questions were: "How do you study English?" "What do you do at home?" "Suppose you had to memorize 30 vocabulary items by tomorrow, what would you do? How would you memorize these words?"

The second part of the test was designed to try and elucidate the cognitive strategies the students use to accomplish language tasks. Two examples of the types of problems posed are:

1. The student was shown a card with the sentence:

The night was so _____ that not a sound was heard.

Four choices were given on the card:

a. quiet b. beautiful
c. dark d. dangerous

and asked to choose the word which would best complete

the sentence. She was then asked to explain how she made her selection.

2. The following words were read by the interviewer and students were then asked to remember as many as possible:

book	rain	girl	pencil
tree	mountain	mirror	apple
Japan	milk		

The students were then asked to explain how they were able to recall the words.

Results and Implications

We are reluctant to draw hasty conclusions based on the data collected until it has been completely analyzed; however the findings do seem to indicate that there is a strong correlation between classroom achievement and oral proficiency. What is most interesting is the fact that while all students who performed well in the oral assessment had high scores on the achievement tests, students who had high achievement scores did not necessarily do well in the test of oral proficiency. Furthermore, the results appear to show that the types of learning strategies which good language learners in Japan use are similar to those which have been described by Bialystok, Rubin, Stern, and others. That is, good language learners in Japan are willing to take more risks by, for example, inferring the meaning of a word based on the context; they monitor their own performance and that of others; they stress the importance of communicating meaning over grammatical accuracy – and they have better study skills. In addition, good language learners in Japan make use of some learning strategies which seem to be the result of the general learning environment in Japan, where memorization plays a key role. This is evidenced in the variety of mnemonic devices used by students which enable them to memorize long lists of vacabulary items in preparation for entrance

examinations.

Wenden (1985) and others have underlined the importance of teachers' awareness of their students' learning strategies, so as to be able to facilitate more efficient learning and enable students to become truly autonomous learners. Research into the cognitive strategies of students learning in an EFL environment has been neglected for the most part. As a result, not enough attention has been given to the development of materials which train students not only in learning the language but learning the process of learning itself. This is, after all, one of our main tasks in language teaching, to help students to become independent learners.

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Book Reviews

SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION. Wolfgang Klein. Cambridge University Press, 1986. 191 pp.
UNDERSTANDING SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION. Rod Ellis. Oxford University Press, 1985. 327 pp.

Language teachers in general are a practical lot. This is especially true of teachers of foreign or second language in the post-audio-lingual period. (Given that *teacher of a foreign or second language* is an awkward locution, I will use the term *foreign-language teacher* in reference to anyone teaching a language to students for whom that language is foreign.) Teacher trainers (a category which includes this reviewer) are often confronted by emotional requests like the following: "Don't tell me about theories, **give me something that I can use in the classroom!**" It is thinking like this that makes a title like *Methods that work: a smorgasbord of ideas for language teachers* (Oller and Richard-Amato 1983) so appealing to the contemporary foreign-language teacher. On the other hand, a text with a title like *Second language acquisition* or *Understanding second language acquisition* is likely to be among those which the average foreign-language teacher would prefer to avoid. Consequently, before discussing how well either of these texts meets the needs of foreign-language teachers, it is necessary to discuss why understanding second language acquisition (SLA) must be included among the fundamental needs of the contemporary foreign-language teacher.

We can look to Ellis for an excellent answer to this question. He sets the stage for this answer by noting that

> All teachers have a theory of language learning. That is, they act in accordance with a set of principles about the way language learners behave. This theory, however, may not be explicit. In many cases the teacher's views about language learning will be covert and will only be implicit in what he does. (p. 2)

He then argues that the foreign-language teacher who operates with

an explicit set of principles is at a distinct advantage when it comes to developing or evaluating novel approaches to problems in language teaching.

> It is only when principles are made explicit that they can be examined with a view to amending or replacing them. Teachers who operate in accordance with implicit beliefs may be not only uncritical but also resistant to change. Alternatively they may shift and change in an unprincipled way, following blindly the latest fashion in language teaching. Teachers who make explicit the principles by which they teach are able to examine those principles critically.
>
> This book is based on the belief that teachers will do better to operate with a theory of language learning that is explicit and therefore open to revision, than with an implicit theory that may ignore what learners actually do. Greater consciousness of the complex process of language learning will not guarantee more effective teaching ... but it will stimulate critical thought, challenge old principles, and maybe suggest a few new ones. A conscious understanding of SLA is a basis for modifying and improving teaching. (pp. 2-3)

This argument is virtually unassailable; to disagree would entail supporting the proposition that a professional foreign-language teacher can be an unthinking automaton. Such a low standard of professionalism is simply unacceptable.

Having established the necessity of understanding SLA, we now come to the problem of how best to provide foreign-language teachers with useful information about SLA. It is at this point that we gain a distinct advantage by being in the position to compare Klein's approach with that of Ellis. Comparison of the two texts reveals that there are actually two important aspects of this problem. First, given that there are a number of different perspectives that one could take in organizing a discussion of SLA, one must decide which perspective on SLA will result in the discussion that is most informative to the foreign-language teacher. The perspective that is adopted ultimately dictates the general organizational scheme for the entire volume.

Once having settled on a particular organizational scheme, one must then decide how individual discussions therein are to be presented. Any discussion of SLA involves a balancing act of sorts, with presentation of the concrete data of SLA on one side of the fulcrum and summary of the relevant literature on the other. Klein and Ellis differ significantly in their respective approaches to both aspects of this problem.

Ellis approaches the organizational aspect of the problem from the perspective of learner language, or interlanguage, as it has come to be called. Following an introductory chapter, in which he defines terms and introduces key issues in SLA, Ellis systematically examines factors which have been hypothesized as having some effect on the development of any given learner's interlanguage. These factors include: (1) the learner's knowledge of his native language; (2) the learner's hypothesized innate language-learning faculty; (3) the linguistic input with which the learner must interact; (4) the strategies the learner adopts in interacting with this linguistic input; and (5) formal (i.e. classroom) language instruction.

Ellis also devotes considerable attention to his 'pet' issue, variability in interlanguage. This includes a valuable discussion of the significant and uncontroversial fact that there are differences between individual learners which result in differences between the respective interlanguages produced by those learners. Unfortunately, it also includes quite a bit more discussion than necessary (at least in a book intended to be a general introduction to research in SLA) of Ellis' controversial (but not idiosyncratic) position that the linguistic competence of an individual speaker of any natural language, including interlanguage, is variable. A final chapter examines seven (so-called) theories of SLA.

Aside from the inordinate amount of space devoted to laying the foundations for and presenting his misguided Variable Competence Model,[1] the organizational scheme that Ellis has adopted is logical and easy to follow. One could not ask for more from any textbook.

Unfortunately, there is a major flaw in the way that Ellis has chosen to present the discussions with which he elaborates upon this organizational scheme. The entire text reads like a literature review chapter for a doctoral dissertation.[2] In virtually every chapter, the reader is confronted by a series of summaries of the most relevant recent research in the particular area. Although these summaries are usually woven together in a reasonably coherent manner, the result is seldom an effective discussion.[3] It is a pity that Ellis consistently fails to illustrate his points with examples from interlanguage. Without such illustrative data, the average foreign-language teacher will experience great difficulty in recognizing the connection between Ellis' discussion and the language learning problems that the teacher faces every day in the classroom. The instructor who adopts *Understanding Second Language Acquisition* as a textbook for a course in SLA will either be forced to supplement the text with the necessary illustrative data or run the risk of being inundated by cries of "give me something that I can use in the classroom!"

Where Ellis' text excels, Klein's also excels. Indeed the organizational scheme that Klein has adopted seems tailor-made for an audience whose primary interest is language teaching. As Klein puts it

> The focus throughout is the *learner,* who is seen as being obliged by social circumstances to apply his language learning capacity to the available linguistic material. (p. 1)

Klein's focus on the learner becomes most apparent in Part II of the book, which comprises chapters 4 through 8. Part I effectively prepares the reader for this focus on the learner by providing a clear and concise global perspective on the field of SLA. This global look at SLA is extremely useful in attempting to reconcile distinct perspectives on SLA, like those adopted by Ellis and Klein, respectively.

In chapter 1, Klein defines terms and briefly surveys attempts at theoretical explanations of SLA. Unlike Ellis, Klein carefully avoids revealing his own theoretical stance, thereby leaving the reader free

to do what Ellis has challenged him to do; to submit his own theory of SLA to careful analysis by making it explicit. Klein's chapter 2, "Six dimensions of language acquisition", is a real gem. Indeed, it is the most successful overview of the process of SLA that I have ever seen. The six dimensions of SLA are identified in the following passage:

> ... the three components which determine the process of language acquisition – propensity, language faculty, and access to the language – together with the three categories which characterize the process – its structure, tempo, and end state – comprise the six basic dimensions of language acquisition ... (p. 35)

Klein's elaboration of these six dimensions is followed by a brief chapter in which he considers which of the dimensions are easiest for the foreign-language teacher to control. If the reader is interested in 'test-driving' this text, chapters 2 and 3 are the ones to look at. I guarantee that you won't stop reading until you've reached the end of the book.

Part II, "From the learner's point of view", begins with an overview of the formidable task facing the foreign-language learner. In chapter 4, Klein analyzes this task into four fundamental problems:

(1) *the problem of analysis*:

> One of the speaker's problems is to segment the stream of acoustic signals into constituent units and to bring the latter into line with the parallel information on concurrent events which constitutes the situational context of the utterance. This is the problem of analysis. (p. 59)

(2) *the problem of synthesis*:

> Suppose a learner has coped with the problem of analysis to some modest extent: his knowledge of the language comprises fifty words: some nouns, some verbs, a few particles, and perhaps the personal pronouns *I* and *you*.. (This happens to be the vocabulary of a foreign worker who had lived in West

Germany for five years; see Klein 1981.) In order to produce utterances that go beyond one-word sentences, the learner has to try and put these words together. This we call the learner's synthesis problem: strictly speaking, the problem of synthesis of words. A similar problem exists for sounds. (pp. 60-61)

(3) *the embedding problem*:

... utterances are generally embedded in copious contextual information and whenever a person intends to speak, he is bound to fit his utterance into this information flow. This is the embedding problem of the speaker. (p. 61)

(4) *the matching problem*:

In order to improve his command of a second language, the learner must continuously compare his current language variety with the target variety. This matching problem tends to become more and more difficult as the discrepancy between the two diminishes. (p. 62)

These four problems are discussed separately in chapters 5 through 8. With respect to the manner in which those subsequent discussions are presented, Klein excels where Ellis fails. Klein makes very effective use of illustrative examples from his own research as well as from other published work. Klein doesn't overwhelm the reader with data, but he provides enough to make clear the important points he discusses. Some readers may be scared off by the fact that some of the data are from (interlanguage approximations of) languages other than English. This should not be a problem, however, because Klein has provided English glosses of the data whenever necessary.

With respect to the mechanics of presentation, both books have an occasional typographical error and Klein's prose periodically betrays the fact that his book is a revised and up-dated translation from a text originally presented in German. Neither of these problems is grave enough to distract the reader from the issues at hand. The only major distraction that this reader experienced was caused by Ellis' failure to identify in his list of references the work

he refers to in Chapter 10 as "Long (1983e)".

For the foreign-language teacher with little time to spare, I strongly suggest taking the time to read Klein's text from cover to cover. For the teacher trainer planning an introductory course in SLA, I recommend including both texts on your list of required reading. A very useful course could result from structuring the syllabus following Klein's lead and periodically drawing upon material from Ellis. In any case, the student of SLA will find both texts to be useful resources.

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Notes

[1]For a clear discussion of the misguidedness of the Variable Competence Model, cf. Gregg (to appear).

[2]There can be no doubt that Ellis has been very thorough in surveying the literature, as a brief review of the list of references in the back of the book will reveal.

[3]Chapter 2, "The role of the first language", is a significant exception. In this particular chapter, Ellis provides a critical review of the contrastive analysis hypothesis and a useful summary of the behaviorist account of language learning from which the hypothesis was extrapolated. Because the discussion of these topics focuses on their historical importance, the summary style of presentation that Ellis has adopted is quite effective.

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TECHNIQUES AND PRINCIPLES IN LANGUAGE TEACHING (Teaching Techniques in English as a Second Language Series). Diane Larsen-Freeman. New York: Oxford University Press. 142 pp.

Diane Larsen-Freeman's *Techniques and Principles in Language Teaching* (hereafter *TPLT*) is a volume that provides a good deal of basic, useful information about eight language teaching methods. It uses a series of observations, explanations, reviews, and questions, repeating this format throughout each chapter. The book views "method" as consisting of instructional techniques and underlying principles and selects eight methods from a spectrum of the traditional to the fashionable, both famous and infamous, from Grammar-Translation and Audiolingualism to Suggestopedia and Total Physical Response. My review begins with an examination of the format that *TPLT* uses to present the four methods just mentioned, plus Direct, Silent, Way, Community Language Learning, and Communicative methods, then moves to a discussion of some problems that exist in its assertions and philosophy, and concludes with recommendations for its use.

Each chapter begins with a brief introduction including that method's origin, its place in modern language teaching history, and references to its theoretical background, principles, and techniques. The reader then enters a hypothetical classroom to "observe" a lesson in progress. While no transcript or lesson plan is provided to orient the reader to the class, narration and description are instead combined by Larsen-Freeman to offer a clear, unbiased account of each "highly idealized session."

Following this classroom experience is a series of related observations and principles, listed side by side, ranging from single sentences to concise paragraphs. Next, principles are reviewed in the form of answers to ten practical questions. These same questions concerning the teacher, learner, teaching process, learning process,

and native and target language and culture are asked in every chapter. Techniques are then reviewed along with any essential materials, such as charts and rods for the Silent Way, or classroom set-up, such as soft music and comfortable furnishings for Suggestopedia. Collectively, these aspects comprise the heart of Larsen-Freeman's compact but thorough discussion of method, and while the descriptions are sufficient for experienced teachers, additional prior knowledge may be needed by, or assumed for, teachers in training.

The concluding sections of each chapter offer reflective questions to help the reader assimilate and synthesize the information, as well as activities designed to check the reader's understanding and apply it to his/her situation. Larsen-Freeman used such exercises successfully in an earlier work (1983), and the inclusion of this element adds a dimension of closure to the instructional value of *TPLT*. As a final feature, each chapter concludes with a short list of extra reading. The book's format is consistent and, aided by clear print and numbering, helpful sketches, and ample use of white space, allows for ease of comparing and contrasting the eight methods. For those in the TESL/TEFL community who want a clear, concise, straight-forward presentation of methods by a prominent author-educator-researcher, *TPLT* will be a welcome resource.

My response to *TPLT*, while generally positive, is slightly less than the whole-hearted endorsement given to it by Oxford University Press series editors, Russell N. Campbell and William E. Rutherford, who cite its inception as being critical to the daily needs – ideas, suggestions, explanations, demonstrations, strategies – of both practicing and student teachers and hail it as "most illuminating and imaginative in meeting a critical need" (p. viii). I feel that some problems exist in its orientation and perspective. The criticism I have of *TPLT*, therefore, is directed primarily at certain assertions and omissions in its prefaces and introductory chapter which belie its espoused neutrality and confuse me as a reader, rather than at what it

says about method – chapters two through nine are fine, within the author's chosen scope. Granted, no one book can cover all the bases; to its credit, *TPLT* does not even try. This is more of an overview or "how-to" book than an exhaustive handbook of theory and practice. And if the author and editors had limited their description of and projections for *TPLT* to being an overview or starting point in considering the eight methods and one that promotes an ease of comparison/contrast between them, I would have little argument with them.

However, Larsen-Freeman and Campbell and Rutherford create a problem by stating that *TPLT* is designed to afford practicing and pre-service teachers greater familiarity with method, their idea of a "critical need." My experience and observations suggest that explanations and examples of techniques and principles don't provide sufficient background in themselves, that the critical need is not to generate more classroom "how-to" books. Greater is the need to produce books that promote development of the background and corresponding competencies needed to create or select appropriate instructional frameworks, knowledge of method being but one aspect, as Dubin and Olshtain (1986) seem to suggest.

Larsen-Freeman also asserts "no one-to-one correspondence between technique and method" (p. xi), that techniques can be shared across methods. Her contention may have some truth to it as her cassette-chalkboard example of recording student speech demonstrates (p. 2), but not all techniques lend themselves to such crossing over; she is remiss in not providing a suitable warning example. Larsen-Freeman further admonishes the reader not to be too quick in dismissing techniques seemingly impossible to apply or adapt or those apparently incompatible with his/her beliefs, stating that "the way teachers work with them is what makes the difference" (p. 2). Agreed, this makes *a* difference ... but not *the* difference. It's the student that makes the difference (Naiman, Frölich & Stern, 1975), and there is little in *TPLT* that addresses student make-up variable, a

variable so fundamental to successful instruction.

Regarding these matters, Larsen-Freeman's statements are surprisingly incomplete and naive. The growing eclectic trend in our profession, which she is endorsing, finds the teacher picking and choosing techniques and procedures from various methods and approaches in response to the daily demands of instruction. There is a danger in this eclectic position, for without a central theoretical framework, the instructor might choose incoherent or conflicting elements that could prove harmful to language acquisition. Stephen Krashen (1983), in a side remark, has labeled this scenario "an obscenity." This concern is also reflected in the works of a number of other scholars such as H. Douglas Brown (1980), who supports only an "enlightened" eclecticism neither based on trial and error nor guided by attractiveness, but one stemming from an integrated, broadly-based theory of second language acquisition.

Even the call for a "multi-faceted" approach (Sharwood Smith, 1981) and an "efficaciously-balanced" activities approach (Harmer, 1983) to teaching are directed more toward curriculum design based on adult learning theory than endorsing the "whatever works" nature of eclecticism. I don't believe that the former justifies the latter. Earl Stevick (1975), while promoting the improvement and adaptation of some lessons and techniques, concludes that important distinctions exist between what he considers the productive versus reflective and receptive versus defensive learning of other languages. Psychologically, much more underlies the learning processes behind method than *TPLT* suggests. And borrowing from education, John Smith and Louis Heshusius (1986) trace the long-standing debate over quantitative versus qualitative research methods, going from conflict to detente to cooperation, and conclude that compatibility across paradigms is unsupportable. The implications for TESL/TEFL, based on both theory and practice, are that Grammar-Translation is incompatible with Suggestopedia, as is Audiolingualism with TPR.

Another danger for Larsen-Freeman and her editors in advocating

an eclectic philosophy resides in the identity of the reader. No distinction is made between the trained professional, one still in training, or the untrained novice abroad. The reader is encouraged not to limit his imagination – and perhaps rightly so – but is nowhere cautioned about the hazards at the other extreme, that of having no theoretical or working model. This is a "do-it-yourself" approach, at best, and lacks appropriate consideration on the author's part regarding the disparate experience of her audience.

This is also a teacher-centered view of successful teaching that evaluates on the basis of whether or not something "works" in the classroom. But successful teaching is more than the well-lubricated administration of techniques. I submit that successful teaching is more accurately a student-centered phenomenon that helps individuals move nearer overall language goals, while being consistent with a well-framed, cohesive, larger picture which includes many factors that *TPLT* doesn't address, such as the divergent cognitive and affective styles and strategies of students, the various needs each individual brings to the classroom, and curriculum/course development, to name but a few. *TPLT* doesn't attempt to be all things to all people, but when it simplistically implies that an adequate level of sufficiency can be found between its covers, it overlooks a lot.

In addition, a text intended for teacher training should clearly define its place in the field relative to its purposes and those books already in print; *TPLT* fails to do this, but it is perhaps more the fault of the series editors and publisher than the author. Yet because it asserts itself as a text that meets a critical need, one for present and future teachers, and one that promotes plurality of method, greater breadth and depth in scope and demarcation are needed. Contrary to Campbell and Rutherford's problematic assertions, there is much classroom instructional material available to our profession. However, I believe that fewer teachers lack expertise in method than in theory or curriculum.

Oxford University Press should also take greater responsibility in pointing out to the reader the place of this volume in relation to others about learning, language acquisition, curriculum, etc., in order to clarify all that is implied by method, whether or not they publish such texts themselves. For the sake of clearer reference within the profession, *TPLT* should also address the ESL-EFL-EIL distinctions more substantially (Richards, 1978), as well as provide more back-ground information about method on a "meta-level," particularly relative to the work of Edward Anthony (1963) and subsequent reformers (Richards & Rodgers, 1986). Such omissions detract from the book's comprehensiveness and utility.

My suggestions for *TPLT* are influenced by all of the above, as well as TESOL publications regarding teacher certification and preparation (1975) and core standards for professional programs (1985). In all, this is not really a book best designed for the practicing professional to sample; that kind of exposure and practice regarding method should be more the province of teacher training or more detailed personal investigation. It should be useful for the inquisitive professional, however, as a quick reference text for any of a variety of purposes (e.g., closer inspection of colleagues' methods or reference citations for research). More accurately, *TPLT* is a teacher preparation text best suited for collateral reading, easy reference, and discussions at the undergraduate level, rather than being the central text around which to build a graduate course. Its implementation should follow course work in theoretical foundations and precede the in-depth study of methods of individual interest. In such contexts, *TPLT* will be a valuable resource for the TESL/TEFL community.

Reviewed by D.R.M. Stone
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